DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 367 975 CS 214 204

TITLE	Proceedings of the American Journalism Historians' Association Conference (Salt Lake City, Utah, October 5-7, 1993). Part I: Newspapers and Journalism.
INSTITUTION	American Journalism Historians' Association.
PUB DATE	Oct 93
NOTE	608p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) — Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE	MF03/PC25 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Civil War (United States); Colonial History (United States); *Freedom of Speech; Health Education; Journalism Education; Journalism History; Libel and Slander; *Mass Media Role; *Newspapers; Peace; Periodicals; Reconstruction Era; *Sex Role; World War II
IDENTIFIERS	Atomic Bomb; Canada; Chinese Revolution (1911); Journalists; *Media Coverage; Professional Concerns; Utah

ABSTRACT

The Newspapers and Journalism section of the proceedings of this conference of journalism historians contains the following 22 papers: "'For Want of the Actual Necessaries of Life': Survival Strategies of Frontier Journalists in the Trans-Mississippi West" (Larry Cebula); "'Legal Immunity for Free Speaking': Judge Thomas M. Cooley, 'The Detroit Evening News,' and 'New York Times v. Sullivan'" (Richard Digby-Junger); "The Dilemma of Femininity: Gender and Journalistic Professionalism in World War II" (Mei-ling Yang); "'An American Conspiracy': The Post-Watergate Press and the CIA" (Kathryn S. Olmsted); "Female Arguments: An Examination of the Utah Woman's Suffrage Debates of 1880 and 1895 as Represented in Utah Women's Newspapers" (Janika Isakson); "Back Channel: What Readers Learned of the 'Tri-City Herald's' Lobbying for the Hanford Nuclear Reservation" (Thomas H. Heuterman); "The Canadian Dragon Slayer: The Reform Press of Upper Canada" (Karla K. Gower); "The Campaign for Libel Reform: State Press Associations in the Late 1800s" (Tim Gleason); "Partisan News in the Nineteenth-Century: Detroit's Dailies in the Reconstruction Era, 1865-1876" (Richard L. Kaplan); "'Pikadon (The Flash-Boom)': A Study of Press Coverage of the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 6-12 August, 1945" (Thomas William McCaskey); "A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press" (Nancy L. Roberts); "'A Receipt against the Plague': How Colonial Newspapers Presented Diseases and Their Remedies for Their Readers" (David A. Copeland); "A Grim Elation: Press Reaction to the Atomic Bomb, August 1945" (Cara D. Runsick); "Sun Yat-Sen, the Press, and the 1911 Chinese Revolution" (Xuejun Yu); "Walter M. Camp: Reporter of the Little Big Horn" (Warren E. Barnard); "Captive Audiences: Handwritten Prisoner-of-War Newspapers of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition and the War Between the States" (Roy Alden Atwood); "An Applied Social Science: Journalism Education and Professionalization, 1900-1955" (Brad Asher); "Savannah's Little Watchdog Weekly: The 'Georgia Gazette,' 1978-1985" (Ford Risley); "Exposing the Foundation: The Cultural Underpinnings of the Hutchins Commission" (Jane S. McConnell); "'The Truth about What Happens': Katherine Anne Porter and Journalism" (Jan Whitt); and "The Joint Operating Agreement between the Daily Newspapers in Knoxville, Tennessee--A Unique Situation" (Susan R. Siler). (RS)

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"For Want of the Actual Necessaries of Life": Survival Strategies of Frontier Journalists in the Trans-mississippi West.

Larry Cebula
College of William and Mary

Editorial Cares.--The editor of a Texas paper gives the following figures of a statistical memorandum of his every day life, and still people will think that editors have but few cares to disturb their slumbers and start into the newspaper business to enjoy life:

Been asked to drink	11,392
Drank	11,392
Requested to retract	416
Didn't retract	416
Invited to parties and receptions by parties fishing for puffs	3,333
Took the hint	33
Didn't take the hint	3,400
Threatened to be whipped	174
Been whipped	0
Whipped the other fellow	4
Didn't come to time	170
Been promised whiskey gin &c., if we would go after them	5,610
Been after them	5,000
Been asked what's the news	300,000
Told	23
Didn't know	200,000
Lied about it	99,977
Been to church	2
Changed politics	32
Expect to change still	50
Gave to charity	$5.00
Gave for a terrier dog	25.00
Cash on hand	1.00

Source: Unidentified clipping found in an 1867 R. H.Hoe & Co. printer's catalogue.

In 1866, James J Ayers was surprised to meet his friend Mark Twain in Honolulu. They had last seen each other in San Francisco, where Ayers had sold his interest in the Morning Call newspaper, for which Twain covered the police beat as a city reporter.

"How in thunder, Mark, does it happen that you have come here?" Ayers asked.[1]

"Well, you see," Twain explained in his trademark drawl, "I waited six months for you fellows to discharge me--for I knew that you did not want me--and getting tired of waiting, I discharged myself."

There was "more truth than poetry" in his friend's assessment, Ayers thought to himself. He and his partners had indeed been carrying Twain, who'd been unable to adapt to the gentrification of journalism as San Francisco moved past the frontier stage of development. "However valuable his services had proven to a Nevada paper, where he might give full play to his fertile imagination and dally with facts to suit his own fancy, that kind of reporting on a newspaper in a settled community, where the plain, unvarnished truth was an essential element in the duties of a reporter, could hardly be deemed satisfactory," Ayers reflected.[2]

In fact, Twain hadn't "discharged himself." He was fired.[3] The frontier style of invective and exaggeration that Twain had learned in Missouri and Nevada was unwelcome in increasingly cosmopolitan San Francisco. Unable to conform to the new standards of journalism that were coming into vogue, and sick of the "accursed homeless desert" of Nevada, Twain was attempting a new career as a free-lance travel writer.[4] He had published a few stories in some eastern magazines and contracted to write a series of letters about his experiences in the islands.

Ayers, too, was in search of opportunity. After numerous unsuccessful newspaper enterprises, he had struck gold by founding the Morning Call, one of San Francisco's most successful newspapers. But Ayers became ill and sought a more healthful climate in Hawaii. His health recovered quickly, and he cursed having sold his interest in the Call. Now he began a daily newspaper in Honolulu, "directed to spreading and intensifying the pro-American sentiment . . . and to discouraging by every argument possible the growth of the pro-British feeling," in the imperial clash for control of the Sandwich Islands.[5] But Ayers failed to win the patronage he had hoped for from the pro-American faction, and his Daily Hawaiian Herald suspended publication.

Ayers and Twain were survivors of the rough-and-tumble world of frontier journalism. They had scratched out editorials and set type in mining camps and farming communities, and watched one newspaper after another fold. The economics of publishing on the frontier were always precarious. But as the frontier began to close after the Civil War, the print economy underwent changes and contractions that forced out men like Ayers and Twain. Now they stood at the western extent of the American empire, searching for another frontier.

The frontier editor is a favorite stock figure from the gallery of pioneer types. Strong willed, hard-drinking, and perhaps a little anti-social, he was (the story goes) a fearless crusader for the truth, smiting his enemies with a venomous pen and defending his own person with ready fists and a Colt Revolver. Publishing his newspaper under tremendous difficulties, he worked both to promote and to reform his town. Later he might go down to the Long Branch Saloon for a drink with Miss Kitty.

The image is in no small part the work of the journalists themselves, who reveled in self-promotion. They advertised their doings in the pages of their newspapers, recounting hardships and fights and drinking bouts. Such accounts were "clipped" and reprinted by newspapers in the east, which used such western shenanigans as human interest pieces.[6] Also contributing to the image was the army of travel writers produced by the late nineteenth-century explosion in travel literature. Hundreds of such authors scoured the West for exotic impressions to stuff into their notebooks and pour onto the printed page, and many became fascinated by the western journalists.[7] Finally, some of the editors themselves--Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Bill Nye and a few others--became nationally known authors and mined their Western experiences for stories and lectures. Such is the stuff of which myths are made.

So it is no wonder that the heroic editor loomed large in the minds of two generations of western historians. Writers of history-as-literature like Bernard DeVoto composed biographical sketches of "the fraternity of goodfellows," who carried their presses into the wilderness, while antiquarians like Douglas C. McMurtrie compiled sterile lists of printing "firsts" for every state and county.[8]

Since the 1960s a new historiography of western journalism has emerged. Daniel Boorstin elevated frontier journalists to the center stage of western development; his editors called new towns into existence with promotion and publicity. Other historians have emphasized the editors' role in promoting social order and defining social hierarchy in new towns.[9] In both interpretations, the frontier editor comes across as a pivotal figure.

But there is another primary source of information about men like Twain and Ayers. Late in their lives, usually after they had retired, some western journalists wrote memoirs and autobiographies. In addition, retired journalists wrote many of the first state and local histories in the West, and usually gave their own craft a large page count. Freed of constraints of boosterism and self-promotion, they were able to write more openly of the pressures under which they worked, and of the disappointments they encountered.

Much in these books is informed by the conventions of the mythic West, with obligatory chapters about "Famous Bad Men I

Have Known," and stories about the editor overcoming a pistol-wielding reader in search of a retraction. Yet when these autobiographies, histories, and occasional collections of letters are read with the economic realities of their profession firmly in mind, they reveal new insights into the workings of frontier journalism. We find that western journalists were more often pawns than players in the politics and deal-making of the frontier. Their editorial independence was sharply curtailed by economic constraints. Any riches they encountered were short-lived. And hopes for advancement proved an illusion. Journalists struggled against long odds with a variety of survival strategies. But for most frontier editors, as for so many other hopeful immigrants to the West, their experience was one of economic failure.

Before looking at the autobiographies, we need a few words concerning the development of the frontier press.

In America, the history of printing and of the book is in a large part the history of newspapers. Newspapers spread rapidly along the frontier, and were the first items printed in 24 states.[10] In the 1820s, Cincinnati had seven weekly and two daily newspapers. In 1835, St. Louis had nine, and by 1855 Tucson was home to six papers. Virginia City had four dailies, a German language paper, and a literary magazine within five years of the founding of that city.[11] Alexis de Tocqueville marvelled that "in America, every village, nay, every hamlet, has its press."[12]

Dissemination of newspapers accelerated after the Civil War. A proliferation of new communities, and the growing importance of railroads and the urban frontier, made the West ever more fertile ground for newspapers. Technological developments also aided this growth, as presses were developed for the frontier market. "This is the smallest and cheapest reliable device we know of for printing a country paper of small circulation," boasted the manufacturer of what was little more than a metal roller to which type was attached. "[We offer it] to customers who do not wish to invest much money in what may be a mere experiment . . . There is nothing wonderful about this kind of newspaper work except for the cheapness of the outfit for it."[13] Known as "Army presses," models like this might sell for as little as $150.[14]

The demand for printed materials in the West was tremendous. Periodicals in particular were thought to promote cultural cohesion. "It is the newspaper which links the pioneer to his former home--the subtle, invisible wire over which courses the constant stream of intelligence, civilizing influences and sweet memories, drawing the wanderer back into the world," idealized one mining camp editor in his inaugural editorial.[15] And newspapers helped reduce that sense of isolation that could be so palpable in the undeveloped West. "We are shut out, as it were, from the world and have little that is new to attract our attention," a California '49er wrote to his family in the east, "And so when we get a hold of a newspaper, it is read again and again, and every little incident forms the topic of conversation."[16] Women were especially avid readers of periodicals, caught up as they were in the necessities of household production in places where the neighbors could be many miles away. "Have taken it easy today," a housewife wrote in her diary in Aurora, Nevada in 1867. "Not sewing, only read 'Enterprises.'"[17]

The leaders of the new communities of the West considered a newspaper a more important acquisition than a school or church. A local journal was a sign of economic well-being and permanence for the town. It functioned as a weekly advertisement to the outside world, designed to attract immigrants and investors with sunny reports of the area's climate, crops, mineral wealth, and future prospects. Some newspapers even included instructions on how to emigrate from the East. The editor was a one-man chamber of commerce in many communities, and if an editor did not show up on his own the town fathers might pool their money to bring one in. Such was the case in 1879 in Spokan Falls in the Washington Territory. J. M. Glover and other property holders solicited Francis Cook to relocate his press from Tacoma to their would-be metropolis (population 150). They offered him a corner lot, advertising, and perhaps transportation costs. Cook moved and began the Spokan Times.[18]

The editor was caught up in the same dream of easy wealth that attracted so many others to the frontier. A weekly journal could be started with a relatively modest amount of capital. Interested parties might offer financial inducements to lure a newspaperman to their town. The need to publish laws and ordinances, and especially the legal notices required to claim public land, offered the editor a regular source of advertising revenue. If the new town boomed, he thought, he could in a few short years find himself a respected citizen in a prosperous community. If prosperity passed him by, he could pack his presses and try his luck in another imagined Chicago.

And prosperity usually did pass him by. For after the rapid expansion of the press in any new territory, there was a contraction nearly as abrupt. In 1855 Arizona had 28 newspapers, in 1859 there were only 11.[19] An 1881 history of Nevada noted that 91 newspapers had been published in that state since 1859, and that only 28 survived.[20] Only one of the 25 newspapers founded in the Washington Territory in the 1860s was still in existence when statehood was granted in 1889.[21] And in San Francisco an incredible 275 newspapers appeared from 1850 to 1870. Half of these survived less than six months, with 68 newspapers published in 1868.[22]

There were several reasons for this contraction of printing. Often the towns themselves would fail: the gold or silver was mined out, the anticipated farmers did not arrive, the railroad would go somewhere else. But even in successful towns, the ratio of newspapers to population would plummet. The abundant advertising revenue that came from printing land claims and legal notices evaporated as the land was "proved up" and the laws were known.[23] And as the town developed, successful competition hinged more and more on the steam presses, divisions of labor, and economies of scale that large capital made possible. Smaller operations were squeezed out. And with greater divisions of labor came an increasing specialization and professionalization, with an eastern standard of "objective" journalism slowly taking hold. There was no place on a big operation for the old style editor who was a jack of all the printing trades but a master of none.

Entering journalism was itself a survival strategy, as many of the autobiographies reveal. Most came West for other reasons, often hoping for a fortune from mining, and fell back into journalism when all else had failed. For some journalism became an avocation, while for others it was merely a refuge before setting off on another scheme.

Prentice Mulford left his home on Bridgehampton, Long Island out of economic necessity. Of himself and the five other boys from his town who sailed out on the ship Wizard for the California gold rush, he wrote: ". . . we were obliged to leave our native heaths because there wasn't room on them for us to earn our bread and clothes."[24] He arrived in California in 1857.

His first attempt at a career, as a sea cook, did not turn out well. "There was a general howl of execration forward and aft at my bread, my lobscouse, my tea, my coffee, my beef, my beans, my cake, my pies," he recalls. He next tried his hand at mining, "where I had the privilege of digging for next to nothing for two years . . . " He failed as a hog-keeper as well. "These hogs of mine broke through the cloth walls of the cabins and would consume the miner's entire weekly stock of provisions in a few minutes," he remembers. "There was no reasoning with the suffering miners on this matter," he adds. As a schoolteacher he performed only indifferently. "The California summer heat is, I think, unfit for educational purposes," he explained. His joint-stock prospecting company came to an end when "the man who subscribed the use of his horse, wanted him back. I was obliged to suspend operations." Of his attempts to become a traveling lecturer Mulford writes: "It is sad to hire a hall in a strange village and wait for an audience that never comes." Finally, he lost an election for the state legislature ("I had the profit of an experience in a semi-political debut, and the people profited by sending another man."), and took a job on the San Francisco Golden Era as a last resort.

Thomas Fitch had some newspaper experience before he came to California in 1860.. He left New York City at the age of 14, when his father's business failed. He worked as a clerk in Chicago and Milwaukee before opening a dry-goods store in St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1859. Fitch sold supplies to parties joining the Pike's Peak gold rush, and was soon in legal trouble for questionable business practices. Fitch rushed back to Milwaukee to take a reporter's berth on the Milwaukee Free Democrat. Active in Republican politics, he emigrated to California in 1860 to seek political office. Though he got a job as a campaign speaker for the 1860 race in that state, no appointed office materialized afterward, and he took a job on the San Francisco Evening Gazette and Times. The next year Fitch went on to found the Placerville Republican, as a springboard for his political career. Throughout his life Fitch continued this pattern of using journalism as a path to political office, and falling back on journalism if the politics didn't pan out.[25]

James J. Ayers was a printer who ran out on his apprenticeship for the California mines. Finding the fabled riches harder to acquire than he had hoped, he too returned to printing. In 1851 Ayers became part owner of the San Francisco Public Balance, but the presses were destroyed in a fire the next year. He would go on to found four other newspapers, and work as a reporter or editor on a half-a-dozen more.[26]

From the stories of these men, we see how typical was Mark Twain's experience. Twain learned printing at various newspapers in Hannibal, where he received "the usual emolument of the office of apprentice--that is to say, board and clothes but no money."[27] Often he worked for his brother on one of a series of failing newspapers that Orion Clemens owned. When he turned seventeen, Twain became a tramp printer, working in New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. After his oft-described experiences as a river pilot and Confederate irregular, he went West with his brother in 1861. In the Territory of Nevada he caught the silver fever and spent a year prospecting without success. Flat broke and his credit exhausted, he was more than willing to lay aside his dreams of riches for $25 a week as city editor for the Territorial Enterprise.[28]

Clearly mobility was an important survival strategy. Frontier editors got around a lot. When printing ceased to pay in one town, it was time to look for another in which to start anew. This prospecting with a press could several forms. Most often an editor set up operations in a given locality at the request of a group of businessmen boosters of that town, often men with land to sell or political ambition. Sometimes an editor might come on his own accord or at the behest of a single patron, the later almost always a candidate for public office.

Experienced editors could be canny judges of the future prospects of a given town. In 1875 a series of printers came to Snohomish, Washington Territory, at the request of a citizen who thought the town could support a newspaper. The printers saw a town with no railroad, no county seat, no mineral find or other sign of future growth, and declined to start a newspaper in Snohomish. The town was left unlettered for another year.[29] But printers could also make bad judgements and be influenced by an overzealous promoter or by the promise of sudden mineral wealth.

When an area was especially promising, there could be a rush of editors right behind the rush of miners, each seeking to be the first to establish himself in the future metropolis and thereby gain such plums as the right to print the town or county ordinances. In Denver in 1859, two rival editors raced to put up their forms and see who would be able to claim to be Denver's first newspaper.[30]

James J. Ayers founded at least four newspapers. After a San Francisco fire destroyed his interest in a newspaper there in 1851, he and some associates started a newspaper in Mokelumne Hill, "a large and flourishing mining camp."[31] Their Calaveras Chronicle prospered. Ayers sold his interest a few years later to form a traveling theater company to tour the camps. In 1856 he joined a partnership to found the Morning Call, which would become one of San Francisco's most profitable newspapers.[32]

In 1868, after his failure in Hawaii, Ayers took a temporary job editing the Territorial Enterprise in Virginia City, Nevada. The regular editor was vacationing abroad. "I had not been long in the editorial chair of the Enterprise," he wrote, "before mysterious hints about marvelous discoveries came from the region of White Pine."[33] His experiences in White Pine County are worth examining, for they reveal much about the economics of mining camp journalism.

"The boom was on." Ayers continues. "The White Pine fever seized everybody . . . Miners were moving in columns from Montana, Idaho, and Utah towards Hamilton and Treasure Hill." Ayers was skeptical at first, and used his position as editor to make private inquiries. He learned from "sources so authentic and direct as to leave no room for doubt" that White Pine was to prove another bonanza, as rich or richer than the Comstock itself. Soon Ayers was "clean gone." He sold some land he owned in San Francisco, bought an "elaborate newspaper outfit" and prepared to join the rush.[34]

He had competitors even before he arrived, as hungry printers eyed the new town:

> Announcements had been made all over the coast by the publishers of small newspapers that they intended to remove their concerns to White Pine, and I concluded that if it was generally known that I was taking a very large establishment to Hamilton it would discourage them, and that I would have the field to myself. So I issued a prospectus that had the desired effect.[35]

Hamilton, the new mining camp of White Pine County, was going to boom the same way Virginia City had, Ayers believed, and he intended to own the future city's most important newspaper. For an "enormous sum" he brought to the remote camp "a large power press and four or five job presses, with the types to publish a large-sized daily and the material for a complete job office."[36] By having the biggest and best presses he figured to gain a competitive advantage over any rivals who dared to show up with a press of their own.

His paper he grandiloquently named The Inland Empire. At first, everything went as planned. The mines "gave promise of richness and permanency," the newspaper was "well received everywhere," and business "as great as we could handle."[37]

Then the largest mine suddenly closed, for the silver ore had unexpectedly run out. "No one could help feeling that the bottom was dropping out of the district," Ayers remembers. "Business was greatly depressed. Bills came to be hardly collectible. Everybody almost was living on credit." Ayers still might have been able to eke out a living in the busted town but for his competitor, J. W. Forbes.

"It is not every editor that can run a newspaper, a whiskey mill and a gambling establishment at the same time," Ayers said of his diversified rival. The huge presses and level of professionalization which Ayers had brought to Hamilton now worked against his success, while Forbes was able to earn a living by doing a little of everything. "No wonder his paper outlived mine," Ayers rued.[38]

Ayer's actions in establishing the Inland Empire were those of a savvy printer with lots of experience on the frontier. His attempts to dominate the print market, by intimidating and outcapitalizing his rivals, were cagey and effective and showed a thorough understanding of the stages of development of the frontier press. By skipping a stage he expected to steal a march on his competitors and to own a paper as profitable and respected as the great Territorial Enterprise.

Ayers was a good printer, but a poor prophet. The Inland Empire suspended operations in April of 1870, thirteen months after the first issue. He sold his modern, useless presses for what he could get and returned to San Francisco, to work as an editor for wages on a political paper.[39]

Ayers was one member of an army of editors who scoured the West in search of economic opportunity. Virtually every editor had a long resume of past positions; E.A. Littlefield worked on at least 15 different newspapers between 1864 and 1881, four of which he founded.[40]

Even when a town prospered, the editors were often vexed trying to keep their readers, advertisers, and patrons happy. The survival of a newspaper often depended upon its politics, and here the survival strategy emphasized flexibility.

The first newspaper in town would usually declare the editorial policy of said journal to be "independence." On its first anniversary the Territorial Enterprise declared that its only political goal was to agitate for the organization of the Territory of Nevada (which was then part of Utah).

> Beyond this question, and the measures nearly or remotely connected with it, it is not our purpose to meddle. The time has not come for the division of people into political parties, and that time never will come, until the attainment of that great measure--a measure of paramount importance to our whole people--the establishment by Congress of the TERRITORY OF NEVADA. Until that time, we say, every true citizen ought to *ignore*, as we shall ignore, all side issues and party politics of the organized and established states.[41]

Political separation from Utah was not a controversial issue in the predominantly non-Mormon western part of that territory. Thus the Enterprise declared itself free of any politically divisive issues. Though neutrality was presented as being of the greatest good for the greatest number, it was more likely a survival strategy. Earlier the editor told how "many a time in the last year have we suffered for lack of fuel, and been pinched for want of the actual necessaries of life."[42] A year before the Comstock lode was discovered, there was barely enough public support to keep the paper in business. The Enterprise could not afford to alienate or anger anyone.

In Pueblo, Colorado the founder of that town's first newspaper, the Colorado Chieftain, discovered this strategy for himself. "At the outset he intended to making the proposed newspaper a Democratic organ," his grandson recalled, " but soon after beginning his canvass he decided he would publish a nonpartisan paper--as he discovered the Democrats talked a good game but were tight when it came to money."[43]

Partisanship would usually emerge with the arrival of another newspaper. Two newspapers in the same town would nearly always exchange insults in their editorial columns. "The Virginia Bulletin has suspended drivelling for a time, and taken entirely to misrepresentation and blackguarding," a rival Virginia City paper reported in 1863, adding "The change will be agreeable to its readers; for anything is better than the nothing of inanity."[44] The development of political partisanship was uneven. During the Civil War, nearly all of the newspapers in areas loyal to the Union declared themselves to be Republican papers and were quick to brand rival editors "Copperheads."

Though editors would often attack one another in political terms, the cause of newspaper rivalry was economic. Newspapers would battle it out even when their politics and stated ends were the same, attempting to discredit their rivals in the eyes of the readers and especially the advertisers. The most common and most damning accusation was that an editor was not an effective "booster" of the community. When the Walla Walla Watchman printed a bloody account of the Nez Perce War of 1877, a newspaper in nearby Dayton criticized the Watchman for scaring away potential immigrants. The reply of the Watchman editor shows how competition and boosterism could color the news:

> The Dayton News and the Dayton Ubetcher and still another badger set up a whining and a howling because we feel inclined to publish what we hear, and talk about hurting the country and playing ----. We see no reason to galvanize matters simply to coax on emigration, and we look over our exchanges who thus presume to advise, we find one article ridiculing the very idea of their being Indian trouble, and in the next column they quote: 'The Indians have destroyed everything below and above us on the river. It would make the heart ache to see the little children, &c.' Why don't ye keep mum all ye wise akres! How do you know it's so! Why not follow your advice! But if you can't and won't, then please take ours and dry up.[45]

Advertising was the most important source of income for the frontier editor. Subscriptions could be important in farming communities of settled population, but the transient mining frontier provided little of this type of support. Job printing also played a role at many newspaper offices, but it is difficult to determine how important a role since so little of such printing survives.[46]

These were the major, but not the only possible sources of income. In the heated economy of a mining boomtown, what was printed in a newspaper could make or break the stock of a new mining company. For the reporters in such towns as these, selling influence was a matter of course. Twain describes how it was done with surprising candor:

> New claims were taken up daily, and it was the friendly custom to run straight to the newspaper offices, give the reporter forty or fifty "feet," and then get them to go and examine the mine and publish a notice of it . . . Consequently we generally said a word or two to the effect that the "indications" were good, or that the ledge was "six feet wide," or that the rock "resembled the Comstock" (and so it did--but the resemblance was not startling enough to knock you down) . . . [47]

Everyone knew that many of the mining stocks were humbugs--contemporary accounts are full of skepticism--but it was hard to determine *which* were the humbugs and which might be the next bonanza. Fraud was rampant, and in this too the journalist had a hand. Consider the case of Mark Twain and the North Ophir mine.

The North Ophir was one of the Comstock's most infamous mining swindles, celebrated for its boldness. The North Ophir was a worthless "assessment" mine, wishfully named after the rich Ophir of the Comstock lode. Reports that a rich find had been located in the North Ophir sent the price of the stock up from a few dollars to over $60 a share in a few days.[48] But the price dropped just as quickly when a group of investors went to see the mine.

They found silver all right, "Perfectly pure silver in small solid lumps."[49] But when this silver was assayed, it was found to be alloyed with copper--a metal never before found on the Comstock, but always present in the silver coinage of that day. Speculators had salted the mine by melting down a lot of half dollars and pouring the molten silver into the ledge.[50] The ruse uncovered, the stock fell as precipitously as it had risen.

In his memoir *Roughing It*, Twain presents himself as another victim of the ingenious con men who ran the swindle. He describes being taken to the mine and watching the owners pan nuggets of pure silver from the bottom.[51] Presumably Twain described the rich new find in the columns of the *Enterprise* (no copies of that paper exist from this period), which helped account for the stock's rise.

In Twain's letters home during the same period, however, he presents himself as more swindler than swindled. "I pick up a foot or two for lying about somebody's mine," he told his sister earlier in the year.[52] "If I don't know how to blackmail the mining companies, who *does*, I should like to know?" he asked in another letter.[53] It is exactly in regard to the North Ophir that he makes his most specific boast: "Now, I raised the price of 'North Ophir' from $13 a foot to $45 a foot, today, & they gave me five feet . . . I shall probably mislay it or throw it in my trunk & never get a dollar out of it. But I am telling you too many secrets, & I'll stop."[54] Clearly, Twain was a participant in the North Ophir fraud.

As a reporter, Twain was in a uniquely lucrative situation in which to indulge this sort of chicanery, a reporter for the most influential newspaper in the nation's richest mining region. Less fortunate journalists had to sell their influence for what they could get. The most frequent purchasers were politicians.

Office-seeking was a favorite survival strategy. For the western journalist political office was the great brass ring, the ultimate ticket out of the unstable and unprofitable world of newsprint. "No state is more intensely scourged by office-seeking than California; offices being here numerous and salaries and pickings are fat . . . " wrote Horace Greeley of his 1859 visit.[55] Greeley was critical of the biased reporting of what was then a largely Democratic press, and thought this bias was a product of office-seeking on the part of newspaper editors.

Thomas Fitch was surely the most eager office-seeker in the whole American West. In 1861 he founded the Placerville Republican newspaper as a springboard for his political ambitions, and he was elected to the California assembly the next year.[56] In 1863 he founded the Daily Evening Washoe Herald in Virginia City, Nevada, a newspaper which lasted less than a month.[57] In 1864 he edited the Virginia City Daily Union, ran for Congress and was defeated, and was wounded in a duel with Territorial Enterprise editor Joseph Goodman.

An informal arrangement among the state's politicians called for the next Congressman to be chosen from the eastern portion of the state, so Fitch moved to the town of Belmont and commenced "to spread his net."[58] The editor of the Belmont paper, the Silver Bend Reporter, was a Democrat and vigorously opposed Fitch's ambition, so Fitch decided to start a paper of his own. He bought a printing press and hired W. F. Myers as an editor, and began issuing his Mountain Champion.[59] Fitch was able to use his money and influence to out-capitalize the Reporter and to lure away its advertisers.

In an effort to compete, the Reporter increased its size and began to publish twice a week. But this only increased the cost of publication without bringing in more revenue. In July of 1868 the Reporter suspended publication and its editor went to White Pine--not to publish, but to go into the lumber business. In October, Fitch was elected to Congress. He rewarded Myers with a federal appointment and gave the Champion to his business agent, who moved the presses to another town. Belmont would go without a newspaper for the next five years.[60]

Even for an editor not in search of office for himself, election years could provide relatively fat times. Political parties would often buy a press and hire an editor, or subsidize an existing newspaper, to publicize their candidates. In 1856, three politically opposed newspapers were issued on alternating days from the same Plumas County, California press, two of these papers folding after the election.[61] An 1858 history of California newspapers written by editor Edward C. Kemble tries to trace the political evolution of the newspapers in that state.[62] For most, their politics changed at least once:

> The Herald early abandoned its neutrality, and, during its seven-and-a-half years of existence, passed through the several stages of political changes of Whig, Know Nothing, Republican, and 'Star and Stripes...The Inquirer tried the virtue of Simon Sugg's motto, 'It's good to be shifty in a new country,' veering around to opposite points in the political compass during its short career. For awhile it was neutral, then it took on Know-Nothingism, and finally went back to Democracy, in which it died . . . The True Republican . . . was a thorough advocate of Republican doctrines until last Winter, when it espoused the cause of Douglas . . . [it] has been gradually dying ever since its

birth.[63]

The ultimate survival strategy for the western journalist was to leave journalism. Just as necessity forced men into the profession, necessity forced them back out again as opportunities contracted. The journalists in our sample did pretty well. Tom Fitch served a term in Congress, after which he generally found the practices of law and land speculation to be more profitable than journalism (though he did find time to write a moderately successful novel). Prentice Mulford became a professional lecturer. James Ayers gave up his dreams of his own newspaper and settled in as an editor on the *Los Angeles Star*. And Mark Twain, of course, became canonized.

The relative success of these men is what enabled them to leave us memoirs, but in this they were not typical of frontier journalists. For a more representative sample we can turn to a 1882 history of Plumas County, California. Written by journalist William E. Ward, the volume gives a roll call of the men who had practiced journalism in that one small county in the previous twenty-five years:

> The gentlemen who have wielded the editorial pen and snapped the shears in Plumas county have been scattered far and wide . . . The pioneer of all, John K. Lovejoy, removed to Carson City and edited the *Silver Age* in that place, and later the *Pi Ute*, at Washoe City, in which he failed to make a success. He died a few years ago. He had an immense capacity for whiskey, was a great talker, and a blackguard of the worst stripe . . . His partner in Quincy, Ned McElwain, returned to his family in Illinois and has been lost sight of by the people here. John C. Lewis engaged in the newspaper business in Nevada for many years leaving this country, but met with little success . . . He is now practicing medicine in Reno. Jim McNabb removed from Quincy

> to Petaluma, became interested in a paper there, and was elected to represent Sonoma county in the Senate . . . John S. Ward removed to Honey lake, and took an active part in the organization of a county government there . . . Atlas Fredoyner turned out bad. [See elsewhere in this volume.] Tom Bail went to Idaho, where he afterwards committed suicide by cutting his throat. Lewis Curtz has been lost sight of. Matt Lynch . . . fell victim to his intemperate habits. William E. Ward is still with us, and ready to answer for himself.[64]

Of the ten Plumas county journalists, only William E. Ward was still at the business. Two others--Jim McNabb and John S. Ward--appear to have successfully moved up and out of the profession. But for seven of the ten, journalism proved a failure. Their contemporaries often explained away such failures. "The explanation was that he always had been delicate, or that he never had taken care of himself, or, if all the usual explanations failed, it was said that 'he was out of luck,'" a Nevada journalists recalled.[65] But the steady movement of men out of journalism shows that they understood more than they let on.

Despite the great importance of print in the development of the American West, the individual journalist was a marginal figure in all but a few communities. Caught between a contracting print economy, an increasing need for capital, and a gentrification of the profession, the frontier journalist was a transitory phenomenom. Journalists sought to survive by moving to new territories, by seeking to capitalize, and by selling their influence. But by 1880 there was little new territory to exploit, and editors were pushed into the ultimate survival strategy, that of leaving journalism.

The status of journalists needs to be considered by any Western historian using newspapers as a primary source. The precariousness of frontier journalism could color the news in dozens of ways, as newspapers changed politics, participated in various frauds, downplayed violence or other problems, and boosted local businesses. The editors' very powerlessness meant that frontier newspapers were but slender reeds for reform. And no single model of boosterism can serve as an historian's corrective for the ommissions and distortions that made up the news columns of these papers, the possible influences were too numerous and too local.

Finally, questions of the evolution and economics of frontier journalism reflect on the larger historiographical debate between the New Western Historians and their critics. In each new community in the West the print economy evolved through broadly similar stages. These stages mirrored the evolution of printing in the East from colonial times to the Civil War in a manner that was frankly Turnerian, "from savagery to civilization." Certainly the journalists themselves would have endorsed this interpretation, forever portraying themselves as they did as the vanguard of civilization.

But behind the braggadocio of the journalists self-portraits were the stark economic realities and disappointed dreams that characterize the New History of the West. Under-capitalized, undereducated, abused by his patrons, abandoned by his readers, the frontier journalist found the mythic West a sore disappointment. Those few that survived past the frontier stage of development did so, not by any Turnerian innovation, but by adapting to the journalistic standard of the urban East and by accepting a loss in status. In conclusion, it may be seen that for most frontier journalists, their experience was one of failure, and as a professional, the frontier editor fought, not for reform, or for truth, but to survive.

Notes:

1. James J. Ayers, Gold and Sunshine: Reminiscences of Early California, (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1922), pp. 223-24.

2. Ayers, p. 223-24.

3. Mark Twain, The Autobiography of Mark Twain, ed. Charles Neider, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959) p. 122.

4. Quoted in Margaret Sanborn, Mark Twain: The Bachelor Years, (New York: Doubleday, 1991), p. 269.

5. Ayers, pp. 226-27.

6. See for example the New York Times July 30, 1877, p.2, with a long column of extracts from the Walla Walla Watchman. The Watchman editor took some potshots at a rival paper in Dayton, and called for "a well-muscled fighting editor or a well trained bulldog to stand off the pusillanimous curs who every now and then knash their teeth and bark at our heels."

7. Examples of travelers who made perceptive observations about western newspapers include Horace Greeley, An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859 (New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860) and Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries During 1866 and 1867 (London, 1872). Robert Atherton's Westward the Briton (Lincoln, Nebraska: Uniersity of Nebraska Press, 1953) is a delightful overview of English travel writing focused on the American west.

8. Bernard DeVoto, "Brave Days in Washoe," The American Mercury, v. XVII, No. 66 (1924) pp. 228-237; Douglas C.McMurtrie, a printer as well as amateur historian, published over 200 items on the history of printing, some of which he typeset and ran off himself. See Charles F. Heartman, McMurtrie Imprints (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1946).

9. Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience, (New York: Random House, 1965); Don Harrison Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

10. Roger J. Trienens, Pioneer Imprints from Fifty States (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976), pp. 4-84.

11. William H. Lyon, "The Significance of Newspapers on the American Frontier," Journal of the West, v. 19 pp. 3-13 (1980) p. 3.

12. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, v.1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953) p. 186.

13. 1865 (?) advertisement reproduced in Harold E. Stern, *Catalogue of Nineteenth Century Printing Presses*, (Cincinnati: Ye Olde Printery, 1978) p. 184.

14. Boorstin, p. 126.

15. Myron Angel, *History of Nevada, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, (Oakland, Calif.: Thompson & West, 1881), pp. 309-10.

16. William Swain, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience*, J. S. Holliday, editor. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983). Swains letters and journals are reproduced, edited, indexed, and heavily annotated.

17. Rachel Haskell, "A Literate Woman in the Mines: The Diary of Rachel Haskell," Richard G. Lillard, editor. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* v. 31, no. 1 (1944) pp. 81-98. The *Territorial Enterprise* was the state's leading newspaper. Haskell also read a number of genteel eastern magazines, among them *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, *The Sabbath at Home: An Illustrated Religious Magazine for the Family*, the New York *Sunday Mercury*, and *Frank Leslie's Pleasant Hours*.

18. N. W. Durham, *History of the City of Spokane*, (Spokane: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912), pp. 340-41.

19. Lyon, pp. 3-13.

20. Angel, p. 291.

21. William A. Katz "The Western Printer and His Publications, 1850-90," *Journalism Quarterly* v. 44 (1967) pp. 708-14.

22. Robert D. Harlan, "Printing for an Instant City: San Francisco at Mid-Century," *Getting the Books Out: Papers of the Chicago Conference on the Book in Nineteenth-Century America* Michael Hackenberg, editor. (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1987), p. 149.

23. For an interesting study of this, see "The Transient Frontier Weekly As A Stimulant to Homesteading," *Journalism Quarterly*, v. 30 (1953), pp. 44-48. Norris found that in the Dakotas, Wyoming and Kansas, many newspapers "were founded only to stimulate profitable frontier land booms and to print the legal notices required by the filing of over a million homestead claims." (p. 44)

24. Prentice Mulford *Prentice Mulford's Story* (Oakland, Calif.: Biobooks, 1953). Reprint of the 1889 edition.

25. Thomas Fitch, Western Carpetbagger: The Extraordinary Memoirs of "Senator" Thomas Fitch, ed. Eric N. Moody (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1978), pp. 1-18. These episodic memoirs were originally written as a series of columns in the San Francisco Call in 1903-04, the current title is Moody's.

26. Ayers, pp. 1-98.

27. Mark Twain, Mark Twain's West, ed. Walter Blair (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Co., 1983), p. 98. (This is a Lakeside Classic edition.)

28. Mark Twain, Roughing It, (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1874) pp. 294-95.

29. Barbara Cloud, "Establishing the Frontier Newspaper: A Study of Eight Western Territories," Journalism Quarterly v.61 (1984) pp. 805-11.

30. David Fridtjof Halaas, Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), pp.74-5.

31. Ayers, p. 100.

32. Ayers, pp. 100, 158-64.

33. Ayers, p. 235.

34. Ayers, pp. 235-36.

35. Ayers, p. 237.

36. Ayers, p. 237.

37. Ayers, p. 239.

38. Ayers, pp. 240-41.

39. Ayers, pp. 241-2.

40. Angel, p 291.

41. Territorial Enterprise, December 17, 1859.

42. Territorial Enterprise, December 17, 1859.

43. Barron Beshoar, "The Strife and Struggle of a Newspaper in the Old West," American West, v. 10 (September 1973), pp. 45-63.

44. Virginia Daily Union, September 29, 1863. As editorial insults go, this is mild stuff.

45. Quoted in the New York Times, July 30, 1877, p. 2.

46. Robert Harlan, in his previously cited article, estimates that job work made up as much as 60% of some San Francisco printers' incomes in the years 1850-69 (pp. 145-147). Such an estimate is surely too high for small frontier towns where the customers for job work were far fewer.

47. Mark Twain, Roughing It, pp. 307-08. The page heading is "Editorial Puffing."

48. Virginia Evening Bulletin, July 6, 1863.

49. Roughing It, p. 312.

50. Virginia Evening Bulletin, July 6, 1863.

51. Roughing It, p. 312.

52. Samuel Clemens to Jane Clemens, Virginia City, February 16, 1863. In Mark Twain of the Enterprise: Newspaper Articles and Other Documents, 1862-1864, ed. Henry Nash Smith (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), p. 213.

53. Ibid., p. 15.

54. Ibid., July 18, p. 15.

55. Greeley, p. 363.

56. Fitch, p. 18.

57. Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen Rix Gash, The Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1854-1979, p. 258.

58. Angel, p. 310.

59. Lingenfelter, p. 19.

60. Lingenfelter, pp. 18-20.

61. Farriss and Smith, History of Plumas, Lassen, & Sierra Counties, California, (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1971), p. 312-313. Reprint of the 1882 edition.

62. Edward C. Kemble, A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858, (Los Gatos, Calif.: The Talisman Press, 1962). Reprint of the 1858 edition.

63. Kemble, pp. 176-77, 198.

64. Fariss and Smith, pp. 312-313. As to Atlas Fredoyner: "Atlas Fredoyner was indicted...for an incestuous and criminal assault upon the person of his own daughter..." (p. 219)

65. C. C. Goodwin, As I Remember Them, (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Commercial Club, 1913), p. 357.

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"Legal Immunity for Free Speaking": Judge Thomas M. Cooley, *The Detroit Evening News* and *New York Times v. Sullivan*

A Proposed Paper for the American Journalism Historians
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"Legal Immunity for Free Speaking": Judge Thomas M. Cooley, _The Detroit Evening News_, and _New York Times v. Sullivan_

On March 9, 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court issued what has been called the most important free expression opinion in American jurisprudence and perhaps the most important libel decision ever written. In _New York Times v. Sullivan_, Associate Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. created a new standard for libel, advocating a nearly absolute protection for matters of speech related to self government. Scholars of _Times v. Sullivan_ have correctly pointed to the influence of free speech philosopher Alexander Meiklejohn in Brennan's opinion even though Meiklejohn was never directly cited. However, Brennan did cite another, albeit older influence on his thinking, a Michigan Supreme Court jurist who was considered the leading free expression defender of the late nineteenth century. Thomas M. Cooley, one of America's first prominent lawyer-academicians, refuted hundreds of years of English and American libel law when he wrote in 1883, "the mere publication of items of news in which the public may take an interest as news merely, and the discussion of matters which concern the public...are their own affairs." It was Cooley's philosophy, as cited in an early twentieth-century Kansas libel decision called _Coleman v. MacLennan_, which Brennan invoked by name in _Times v. Sullivan_ decision, especially his belief that "however damaging it may be to individuals, there should and must be legal immunity for free speaking, and that justice and the cause of good government would suffer if it were otherwise."[1]

Thomas M. Cooley's ideas on Constitutional law have been amply examined, debated, and dissected by legal scholars, but the historical circumstances that influenced his thoughts of the press have been overlooked. Ironically, his belief in a strong free press was severely tested by Michigan's first penny newspaper, the Detroit Evening News, and its vociferous founder and editor, James E. Scripps. Cooley came to dislike the excesses and sensationalism of the Evening News so much that he refused to even read the paper. The several libel suits involving the Evening News tried in Cooley's court sorely tested his patience as well. In 1885, at virtually the same time that he was writing his free press philosophy in his law books, he lost a re-election bid to Michigan's high court due largely to a vicious campaign waged against him by Scripps and the Evening News.[2]

The adversarial relationship between Cooley and the Detroit Evening News needs to be examined to understand the significance of Cooley's influence upon Justice Brennan in New York Times v. Sullivan. That relationship was not built upon Cooley's belief in "the increased professionalism of the press" as one legal scholar has explained. Nor was it exclusively the "arrival of popularly oriented evening newspapers during the Gilded Age" or mere "flamboyant journalism" as others have claimed. Instead, Cooley was trying to accommodate the new profit-motivated late nineteenth-century commercial press in the same manner that he had done for other newly emerging industries. Cooley's ultimate goal was to update old laws to preserve the ideals of his two heroes, Thomas Jefferson's belief in limited government and Andrew Jackson's concern for equal rights. No doubt Justice Brennan wrote the Times decision eighty-two years later with a similar purpose in mind.[3]

To better understand Thomas McIntyre Cooley's faith in American democracy, it's important to know more about him and his decisions. Near the end of his life, Cooley provided a succinct description of his childhood: "I was brought up as a poor boy, with hard work; gave myself such education as I possess; began married life with absolutely no means whatever; [and] lived the first ten years with greater economy and fewer of the comforts of life than beginners now think they can possibly consent to." Born in 1824 near Attica, New York, Cooley was one of fifteen children born to a traditional early nineteenth-century farm family. Although he spent his earliest years working on a farm, he briefly apprenticed for a lawyer in Palmyra, New York and acquired a taste for the law that he never outgrew. Uninterested in the drudgery of farming, he moved to the newly admitted state of Michigan in 1844, studied at a law office in Adrian, Michigan, and was admitted to the state bar at the age of 22 in 1846. Tall, lean, and rugged in stature, he grew to resemble Abraham Lincoln, not his heroes Jefferson or Jackson. Following Lincoln's election in 1860, Cooley grew a thick black beard and enjoyed turning people's heads for the rest of his life.[4]

As a young lawyer, Cooley began in politics as a Jackson Democrat and Free-Soiler and he remained a Democrat in his heart for the remainder of his life. He once defended Democratic President James Buchanan as "a true patriot...[who] managed public affairs during the last days of his administration quite as wisely as they were managed during the early days of [his successor, Abraham Lincoln]." Nevertheless, Michigan, along with the rest of the midwest, turned

Republican during the 1850s and 1860s and Cooley aligned himself with the new party so he could run for public office. In 1864, he was elected to the Michigan Supreme Court as a Republican and he called himself a Republican for the rest of his political career. Still, he remained a disciple of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson's egalitarian idealism, and evoked their philosophies whenever he could in his judicial decisions. Regarding the press, Cooley believed that the First Amendment gave newspapermen a great deal of latitude in covering public events and figures, including the right to damage or destroy reputations when necessary. Cooley especially admired Jefferson, who had suffered greatly at the hands of the press during his two presidential terms, yet remained a firm proponent of a free press following his retirement.[5]

Although Cooley briefly edited two local newspapers during the 1850s, providing him with an appreciation of their financial and legal problems, the law remained his primary interest. In 1859, he was hired as a faculty member of the newly founded University of Michigan law school, the first law school in the state. He quickly established a reputation as a legal scholar without rival in either Michigan or the rest of the country. He reorganized Michigan's hodge-podge system of statutes, introduced the now common lecture and case method form of study, a technique then in use in only a few schools at the time, and wrote two of the first American law textbooks, Constitutional Limits in 1868 and a Treatise on the Law of Torts in 1879. His lectures and books had a profound influence on several generations of lawyers and judges even after his death. His teaching technique impressed his student's minds "so indelibly that not only what had been said but the precise words used were easily retained." Justice Brennan cited Cooley's Constitutional Limits book in Times v. Sullivan and both volumes can still be found on the book shelves of law school libraries.[6]

Joining Cooley during his years on the Michigan high court were three justices of lesser but still formidable stature. James V. Campbell was a dyed-in-the-wool Republican who also taught at the Michigan law school. Not only was he the ideological opposite of Cooley, the two disliked each other personally. In their more than twenty years on the bench together, they rarely ate together, spoke to each other, or even stayed in the same hotel. Of their relationship, Cooley later wrote, "I cannot attribute this to any fault of either, and indeed I think our friends believe the contrary to be the fact, but somehow the sympathy from which intimacy must spring has never seemed to be present." Campbell was a simple-minded frontier man who had little interest in complicated political philosophies or ideologies, preferring straight-forward equity decisions whenever possible. Unlike Cooley, he was reclusive and resented the demands and intrusions of public life. In spite of their antagonisms, Cooley and Campbell found themselves in agreement on decisions many times, including those involving libel.[7]

Beyond the high court's two intellectual leaders, there were two lesser figures. Thomas Sherwood, a one-time circuit court judge, was more of a politician than a judge. Isaac Marston, an Englishman and former law student of Cooley, typically agreed with his mentor on matters of libel and helped form a majority for him on significant decisions.[8]

In contrast to such a distinguished high court, James E. Scripps' Detroit Evening News was as sensational and irreverent as a 1870s American newspapers could be. Throughout Michigan's early history, the newspapers were largely partisan in nature, especially the Detroit press. Often edited by aspiring politicians such as Cooley, they served primarily as propaganda vehicles for political parties or partisan opinions. Few functioned as sources of news or entertainment. Subscriptions were expensive, averaging between five and ten dollars a year, and circulations were limited. Due to their content and cost, most were read by a narrow segment of society, educated, politically active, white, upper-class males. Not surprisingly, the entire Michigan Supreme Court bench was comprised of such men and Cooley and his colleagues had grown up reading such partisan newspapers. No doubt they would have lived happy lives if Michigan's newspapers never changed.[9]

But they did change. Beginning in the 1830s, a new newspaper form known as the penny press began appearing in large American newspapers. These papers differed from partisan newspapers because they made their money on the sales of copies, not party support. To avoid alienating readers, they filled their columns with non-political news such as crime and human interest stories. They appealed to a broader class of readers but in doing so tended to denigrate the same educated, upper-class readers that had been celebrated in the old-style political newspapers. As sociologist Michael Schudson has observed, such papers were less concerned if they hurt a few prominent citizens because as commodities, not propaganda, the more copies that were sold to the emerging middle class, market societies of nineteenth-century America the more profit their publishers made.[10]

James E. Scripps wanted to produce just such a newspaper for Detroit. The half-brother of the soon-to-become more famous Edward W. Scripps, he cut his teeth in journalism on the highly-partisan Chicago Tribune and Detroit Tribune. Tired of political commentary disguised as news, Scripps envisioned a penny newspaper for Detroit based on the popular New York Sun. In 1873, he started the Detroit Evening News with a $2,000 investment and the paper became profitable within six months even though Detroit was in the depths of a recession at the time. By 1875, his circulation had climbed to 16,000, more than any other Detroit newspaper. The News employed more than 600 persons in 1877, including thirteen reporters and editors, twenty-three printers, 114 correspondents, and more than 200 newsboys. In his diary, Scripps reported yearly profits of $13,000 in 1876, $18,000 in 1877, and $14,000 for 1878. In comparison, Michigan Supreme Court Justice Thomas M. Cooley made an annual salary of $9,000 and another $1,000 in royalties, teaching fees, and related legal work. By 1880, the News' daily circulation had climbed to nearly 39,000, making it the seventh largest circulating newspaper in the United States and in 1882, Scripps could legitimately brag that he had a larger circulation than his old employer, the Chicago Tribune.[11]

Scripps' secret of success was that he made his newspaper timely, affordable, and sensational. Late in his life, he wrote, "had I held everything down to my own views, I should have produced a good but dull paper, which I do not doubt I would have made succeed, but which probably would have not risen much above the dull prossiness of the Detroit journalism of that day." Instead, his motto was to "cram the News down everybody's throat." His half-brother E.W. Scripps worked as a News reporter and city editor during the 1870s and remembered the paper as "about as wild and reckless a bunch of newspapermen as I have ever known gathered in one room." He wrote,

> The Detroit Evening News was practically the founder of what is known as "personal journalism." Rich rascals found that, as far as the reporters of the News were concerned, they were living in glass houses, and they had no means of protecting themselves from public exposure. This applied to rich men who were affected with petty meannesses, so-called respectable men in political office who were doing wrong, clergymen who had faults that unfitted them for church service or even decent society, professional men--doctors, lawyers, and even judges on the bench--who had depended upon the cloak of their respectability, or position, to cover a misdeed.[12]

Detroit was a fitting locale for the Evening News. The city had experienced an unprecedented crime wave beginning in the 1850s and the organization of a professional police force in 1865 had only hidden crime by setting up a system of payoffs and bribes. By the 1870s, the city had grown from an Indian settlement to a modern, gas-lighted metropolis of almost 100,000 with all of the problems attendant to a modern city, which made excellent news for the News. Scripps modeled his newspaper as the un-elected champion of the common man in Detroit, the only true warrior against evil. That an honest public servant like Thomas Cooley might get in the way of the Evening News from time to time was not a concern of Scripps as long as a better Detroit emerged from the fray.[13]

Cooley's first libel suit, Detroit Post v. McArthur, came to him in 1868, five years before the News was born. The Detroit Post and Free Press printed the name of a Detroit man and predicted in several stories that he would be charged with a serious crime shortly. He never was. In appealing a trial court judgement of $1,100 in favor of McArthur, the newspapers admitted the defamatory nature of their articles but argued that it was a mistake brought about by the industrialization of the newspaper business. With staffs of editors, reporters, and writers, no one publisher could approve everything that appeared in his paper. Cognizant of the economic trend toward industrialization, Cooley and the high court agreed with the newspapers' argument to some extent. Writing for the majority, Justice James Campbell noted "when it appears that the mischief has been done in spite of precautions, [a publisher] ought to have allowance in his favor which such carefulness would justify....," especially if the publisher could prove that everything possible had been done to prevent a libel. However, Campbell also reminded publishers that "there is no doubt of the duty of every publisher to see at all hazards that no libel appear in his paper" and upheld the lower court verdict.[14]

The McArthur decision stimulated Cooley to organize his thoughts on the press in the newly developing American industrial society. Writing in his first text book, Constitutional Limits, which was published the same year as the McArthur decision, he noted, "the publisher of a newspaper...though responsible for all the actual damage which a party may suffer...cannot properly be made liable for exemplary or vindictive damages, where the article complained of was inserted in his paper without his personal knowledge...." Still, he recognized that the McArthur case did not have all of the elements necessary for him to remake libel law. At the time, libel damages were based not as much on the content of the speech but on the amount of harm done to a person's reputation. It was logical that better known persons such as public officials had more of a reputation and were therefore entitled to larger damage awards. No consideration was given to whether the libel involved private matters or subjects of public concern. At the same time that he discussed the McArthur decision, Cooley also posited that the press should be able to "bring any person in authority, any public corporation or agency, or even the government in all its departments, to the bar of public opinion" but he had no common law to validate his point.[15]

In contrast to the legal profession, James E. Scripps had another idea about libel. If he was to expose the corruption of Detroit, he considered libel one of the many costs of running a profitable newspaper business. Beginning with his first case in 1875, Scripps routinely recorded his many court appearances, legal meetings, verdicts, and settlements in what appear to be only minor disruptions in his diary. By his own account in 1878 and 1879, the last two years that his diaries have been preserved, Scripps, his newspaper, or one of his reporters were named in at least ten different libel suits, not counting appeals or rehearings. That was more than all of the libel suits heard in Michigan courts in the decade before the Civil War. Verdicts or settlements ranged from nothing to almost $2,300 but Scripps apparently did not mind. By 1878, he had become so accustomed to either being sued for libel or becoming a father that he jotted down "paid judgement in Cavanaugh case $104.10" before he wrote an entry on the birth of his fifth child.[16]

The first Scripps libel case to be heard by the Michigan Supreme Court came in 1875. One of Scripps' star reporters, Robert E. Ross, had accused Detroit circuit court judge Cornelius J. Reilly of adultery. Reilly, enraged at what he considered to be an unprovoked attack upon his character, sued the newspaper for $25,000 and was awarded a jury verdict of $4,500, a significant amount at the time. Writing for a not unsympathetic high court, Justice Isaac Marston noted that the newspaper had produced a "sensational and wholly unjustifiable article" but still ruled for the paper, noting that it had used "the very latest and most reliable news" from official public records and "that on such occasions the same careful scrutiny cannot [be] exercised that would at others." Cooley considered the decision open and shut and did not contribute to it. Despite his loss, Reilly continued harassing Scripps and the publisher finally settled with him in 1878 for $2,500, money Scripps presumably considered another cost of running his newspaper business.[17]

Scripp's second case developed in 1878 when a reporter for the competing Detroit Tribune, James E. Tryon, was alleged by the Evening News to have revealed a confidential source in a story on police corruption. The News noted, "there is not a patrolman on the force who does not...condemn the reporter who made public a private conversation." Tryon sued Scripps for libel, alleging the story hurt him in his profession. The trial court ruled for the News, holding that the charge of breaking a confidential source was not a crime in Michigan and therefore could not be libelous. Writing for a unanimous court, Justice James Campbell overturned the lower court verdict and ruled that a person could be libeled by a claim that was not in itself criminal. According to Campbell, "the general public to whose entertainment or instruction all newspapers are supposed to be devoted, has no concern whatever with the lawful doings and affairs of private persons." The News vainly argued that a similar spoken accusation had been found in another case to not be defamatory but Campbell held that a printed libel was more serious than a spoken slander. At a second trial, Scripps was ordered to pay Tryon $100.[18]

That same year, the News was sued by a physician for a story claiming that he had negligently vaccinated a one-year old child for scarlet fever, unintentionally killing him in the process. The paper argued that the doctor's public prominence gave it the right to report the information, a position Justice Campbell denied in his majority decision. Campbell held that the doctor was not a public official because he had volunteered to administer the injection for free and had no official status. Cooley concurred with the bulk of Campbell's decision, but renewed his call for lenience toward the press in reporting public issues. According to Cooley, "there are many cases in which the public benefits of free discussion are so great that privilege must be admitted even though individual injury may be serious." The case went to a third trial before it was ultimately settled out of court.[19]

The case Cooley needed to articulate his advanced free discussion of public issues philosophy finally appeared in 1881. Ironically, Atkinson v. Detroit Free Press did not involve the Evening News but another Detroit newspaper that Cooley admired. The case began when a Detroit lawyer named John Atkinson filed a libel suit for another Detroit man accused by the News of murder in 1880. The News was exonerated in the resulting trial in what it modestly characterized as a ringing victory for the press. In their glee, the News and the rest of the Detroit press set out to destroy Atkinson's reputation. When the Free Press ran a series of articles charging him with fraud and theft, he sued for libel and won. The jury verdict was appealed on a variety of technical grounds and the state supreme court upheld it. Justice James Campbell noted that the article was libelous since it was not "connected with any matter concerning which it could be regarded as privileged" and the paper could not prove any of its charges in court even though the evidence strongly implicated the plaintiff.[20]

In a lengthy dissent, Justice Cooley sided with the newspaper. "No doubt [the Free Press] might have used more carefully-guarded language, and avoided irritating headlines," he admitted, "but in a case of palpable fraud, which this seemed to be and was, something must be excused to honest indignation." According to Cooley, it was Atkinson's "misfortune that it was impossible to deal with the case without bringing him into the discussion," or in other words, that he was an involuntary public figure. Cooley wrote,

> If such a discussion of a matter of public interest were prima facie an unlawful act, and the author were obliged to justify every statement by evidence of its literal truth, the liberty of public discussion would be unworthy of being named as a privilege of view....[the Free Press] would have been unworthy of the confidence and support of commercial men if its conductors had

shut their eyes to such a transaction.

Although Cooley could not point to any specific precedence for his opinion, he noted that the principle of open discussion of public ideas was "embodied in the good sense of the common law, where it has constituted one of the most important elements in the beneficent growth and progress of free States."[21]

Although a dissenting opinion, Atkinson v. Detroit Free Press became Cooley's most persuasive statement on the First Amendment. It was the most ringing defense of a free press to emerge from a century that did not have a strong record favoring free speech. Ultimately, it was the Atkinson case and Cooley's textbook philosophy that were cited in a 1908 Kansas libel case, Coleman v. MacLennan, which in turn was cited by Justice Brennan in Times v. Sullivan. Cooley's effort did not receive much attention at the time but it did not pass without notice. A few months later, an editor friend wrote, "your ideas of successful journalism are essentially those I have always held....[my newspaper] will be devoted to the highest good of the community and advocate the right in a dignified but fearless manner."[22]

Cooley repeated his philosophy in another case the following year, Miner v. Detroit Post & Tribune. The Post & Tribune accused a municipal judge of violating judicial ethics by failing to properly enforce liquor and gambling laws. The judge sued for libel and the newspaper made what has come to be known in the twentieth century as a "fair comment" defense, arguing that it was stating a true opinion on a matter of public interest. The high court disagreed, citing the newspaper's imputation of "specific moral delinquency" as a claim that was provable and therefore more than a simple opinion. Writing for the majority, Justice Cooley made a distinction between publications "of grave public concern" and publications discussing gossip and scandal. To equate both, according to Cooley, was to place "the reckless libeler...in the same company with respectable and public spirited journalists." Cooley ordered the case back to the trial court. Although it seems out of character with the Atkinson decision, Cooley never intended to give the publishers of idle gossip the same protections as those he envisioned for public controversies. No doubt his prejudice was based in part on the excesses of the Detroit Evening News. In Times v. Sullivan, Justice Brennan failed to make a similar distinction, perhaps because it was difficult for him to define "idle gossip," but he did set a limit of outright lying or "reckless disregard of the truth" in developing his Times standard.[23]

Cooley was pleased with the Atkinson and Miner decisions. He wrote fellow Justice Isaac Marston in August 1882, "I think we have got on the right track at least in libel cases and I am pleased to see that [new Justice] Shipmann approving heartily the Atkinson and Miner cases." However, the News remained a concern to him. Based upon his diaries, he read Detroit's three other dailies but he never mentioned the News in any of his entries. He avoided the News' reporters whenever he could as well, providing a late nineteenth-century equivalent of "no comment" to their questions at one point. His behavior was reminiscent of the so-called "moral war" that had been waged by New York City's upper class against James Gordon Bennett's penny press New York Herald in 1840. Interestingly, Scripps' circulation, just as Bennett's, continued to climb during Cooley's years on the bench. Even though Cooley may not have read the paper, it was clear that many others of the upper class were doing so, perhaps out of the public eye.[24]

Cooley's final libel case on the Michigan Supreme Court occurred in 1883, revealing more of his disdainful attitude toward the Evening News in the process. In MacLean v. Scripps, the News accused a University of Michigan medical professor and one of Cooley's personal friends of forcing a consensual sexual relationship upon a female patient. The front-page story appeared under the headline, "Debauchery and Ruin: The Sad Story of a Crazed Husband and Broken Family, The Wreck of a Canadian Home Charged to a Michigan University Professor." The paper wrote, "the good name of [the University of Michigan] is being seriously compromised" and also accused the professor of sending love letters to the woman filled with language that "was most disgusting." There was little evidence in the case beyond the two accusations but the trial court found for the professor, granting him $20,000 damages, the largest libel verdict in Michigan history at that time. In its story on the verdict, the News implied that the jury had been bribed. A Scripps' biographer later wrote, "as was the case in other news libel suits, sympathies of people were with the paper and an immense crowd waited before the court building...until 9 p.m., discussing the case and speculating on what the verdict would be. When the result was announced there were many expressions of disgust."[25]

The supreme court upheld the case on appeal. With Cooley's concurrence, Justice James Campbell wrote, "private reputation cannot be left exposed to wanton mischief without redress." He held that "a person may publish falsehoods of another who occupies a position in which his conduct is open to public scrutiny and criticism, without any referent to the object to be secured by the publication, is a doctrine which has no foundation that we have been able to discover." Only newly elected Justice Thomas Sherwood dissented, noting that Scripps had shown no signs of malice in his testimony on the witness stand. Instead, "if the charge was true, the defendant, as editor and publisher of a paper with 35,000 or 40,000 subscribers had not only the right, but faithful journalism made it his duty, to publish the facts; to 'cry aloud and spare not'." Cooley was not pleased with either the case or the verdict. He noted in his diary, "the libel case of MacLean & Scripps...came in with a most extraordinary farrago of nonsense in favor of reversal."[26]

MacLean was unusual for several ethical reasons. As already indicated, both Cooley and Campbell were colleagues and friends of the plaintiff, fellow faculty members of the still relatively small University of Michigan. As well, former Justice Isaac Marston represented Scripps before the high court. Cooley wrote in his diary,

> Judge Marston in the course of his final address to the jury took the liberty of drawing comparisons between the manager of the News and the conductors of other Detroit papers to the prejudice of the latter; and they were so grossly--I may say grotesquely--unfounded that they only excited derision. There is quite a general feeling, I think, among [Judge Marston's] friends that he made a mistake in engaging in the case at all.

At that same time, MacLean was represented by Justice Campbell's son. Today, judicial canons would require a judge to recuse himself from such a case but nineteenth-century judges operated under a less stringent ethical code. Marston wrote a letter to Cooley eight days after the high court verdict complaining about the decision. In his diary, Cooley noted, "the opinion is certainly not one to do Judge Campbell credit; but he had the excuse that he prepared it in the night between 10 & 3. Nobody praises it, and those who like the conclusion regret that it was not more satisfactorily expressed."[27]

James E. Scripps was furious with the ruling, especially the various ethical improprieties, and demanded a rehearing. Cooley wrote in his diary, "in court through the day. Among the motions was one for a rehearing in the MacLean v. Scripps; the principle ground being that Justice Campbell, by whom the opinion was prepared, was the father to one of the attorneys in the case. In point of law the motion has nothing whatever in it; but I have always felt the awkwardness of sitting in cases under such circumstances, and generally have refrained from doing so." By the consensus of the other justices, Cooley was asked to review the case. The one-time newspaper editor dismissed Scripps' contention that Campbell had been prejudiced in his verdict but recast portions of his hastily written decision. He argued there were satisfactory "proofs from which the jury might infer that the publication was made in entire disregard of the plaintiff's rights, and from interested motives." At the end of his patience with Scripps and his new form of journalism, he also observed,

> No court has gone further than has this in upholding the privileges of the press, and very few so far. If there has, by oversight or otherwise, been any failure to recognize and support them in this case, the court would be prompt to make the correction on....But there has been no such failure.

In Cooley's mind, there was no doubt that the First Amendment had never been written to protect James E. Scripps and the Detroit Evening News.[28]

Even though Scripps lost the MacLean case, he had an important say in Justice Cooley's future. Cooley was up for re-election to the high court in 1885 and as previously indicated, his ties to the state's Republican party had been tenuous at best in the past. Privately, Cooley had little love for politicians and thought that supreme court justices should not to have to run on a political ticket. He noted in his diary in 1884, "Andrew Campbell, an ambitious farmer living in Pittsfield, called to see what I thought of his becoming a candidate for Congress. I sent him to the politicians." Cooley was also angered in the early 1880s when he surfaced at least twice as a possible candidate for the U.S. Supreme Court but was passed over as a result of partisan bickering within the Michigan Congressional delegation. Although he never confided his true feelings on the matter in his diary, he held Michigan's Republicans responsible for denying him the ultimate judicial position in the country.[29]

His disgust evidenced itself through his selection of Democrat Grover Cleveland in the 1884 presidential election. "I voted for Cleveland as a protest against public dishonesty," he benignly noted in his diary. Although he never denied voting for Cleveland, he did not want the fact publicized for obvious political reasons. Somehow, the Evening News and the other Detroit papers learned of his defection and launched an attack on him for his lack of party allegiance. The News predicted in February 1885, "should the republicans nominate Cooley, there will be a fair, square fight in this state. It will not be a partisan fight in any sense, for Cooley has not been a republican since 1876. He voted for [Democratic candidate Samuel J.] Tilden that year and Cleveland last year."[30]

The News made other personal attacks. In the same February editorial, it documented what it alleged was favoritism in Cooley's decisions toward large monopolistic corporations and against the common man. Another article alleged that he was a prohibitionist, an unpopular political position among a large immigrant electorate that had grown up with alcoholic beverages. In an editorial titled "Not a Question of Motive," Scripps also wrote,

> At the close of the famous suit of MacLean against Scripps...after the supreme court--upon which sat two fellow professors of the plaintiff and the father of the plaintiff's attorney--had refused to open the case again...after Judge Cooley's friend and fellow professor had received the cash from his judgment, and after Judge Campbell's son had received a portion of his contingent fee--in a word, after the robbery had been consummated...there was but one opinion of the transaction among the unprejudiced masses of Michigan. The press of the state almost unanimously condemned the affair as a travesty on justice, as a disgrace to the courts, an indelible blot upon the highest court.[31]

Cooley was disconcerted but not too concerned by the News campaign against him, especially in light of what he considered to be nearly twenty years of unselfish service to the state. He briefly considered resigning, but friends talked him out of it. The day before balloting, he wrote in his diary,

> The election is progress is a very warm one, and so far as I am concerned has been perfectly unscrupulous from the first. I feel no confidence in the result, and while most of my friends are confident there are many fears. One thing is certain: the best men of the state are supporting me almost to a man; and it is equally certain that the worst elements of the state are very active against me.

On election day, the News gloated, "Thomas M. Cooley is being pasted unmercifully in almost all sections of the city." The paper's prediction was prophetically for Cooley lost the election by a margin of nearly 30,000 votes. After the election, one of his supporters noted, "the course of wholesale dealing in falsehood and villainy adopted by the Detroit News did us great damage no doubt."[32]

Thoroughly disheartened by the repudiation, Cooley resigned from the high court in September 1885 and never served as a judge again. No longer needing to restrain his disgust of the News for political reasons, he gleefully noted in his diary in late July 1885, "a reporter for the Detroit Evening News called on me for an 'interview' and was told I was too busy to talk with him." A month later he wrote,

> Two newspaper reporters have been after me to ascertain the truth to reports appearing in [the News]....I told them that because some scribbler had run to a gossipy paper with a rumor would be no reason with me for following him there.

Several days later, Cooley personally delivered review copies of a new book he had written on the history of Michigan. Only one Detroit paper did not receive a copy, the Evening News.[33]

Knowing the personal anguish that Cooley felt in the aftermath of his 1885 electoral defeat, his support of a free press that was echoed by Justice Brennan in Times v. Sullivan is all the more surprising. Cooley was not responding to "the increased professionalism of the press" because journalism had few professional standards in the late-nineteenth century and, as evidenced in this paper, the Evening News had even less. Nor was he supportive of the "arrival of popularly oriented evening newspapers" or "flamboyant journalism." He detested them, especially the "gossipy" journalism of the Evening News. Rather, Cooley was trying to accommodate the new profit-motivated commercial press of the late nineteenth century into the American tradition of egalitarianism. In a 1967 Journal of American History essay, Alan Jones refuted the popular legal notion that Cooley as a "zealous advocate of the judicial protection of property rights." According to Jones, "Cooley illustrates in an exceptional way the travails of the doctrine of equal rights from the age of Jackson to the age of McKinley....[he is] less the villain of Progressive historiography than an ironic example of its tenet affirming a vital equalitarian tradition that stretched from Jefferson to Wilson and beyond." His defense of the press as a vital element in American democracy came at a personal price to him, perhaps much the same feeling that the publicity-shy William Brennan, Jr. has felt over the years since Times v. Sullivan in the face of his many controversial decisions.[34]

As previously indicated, Cooley never again served as a judge following his 1885 defeat. He did not altogether retire from public service. In 1887, President Grover Cleveland appointed him as the first chairman of the newly-formed Interstate Commerce Commission. Although the I.C.C. was a frail, ineffective bureaucracy in its early years, Cooley acted as an advocate for community self-determination and anti-monopolism and it became a model for subsequent federal regulatory agencies. Cooley was optimistic that the I.C.C. would bring the huge railroad industry under federal control but he was frustrated in his efforts by a serious of restrictive U.S. Supreme Court rulings, decisions Cooley could have influenced had he been appointed to the Court. He resigned after the death of his wife in the early 1890s and lived his final years at his home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, dying in

1898. Still, his efforts toward regulation were much in keeping with his ideals of limited government and equal rights and set a precedence that was embraced by the I.C.C. and other government agencies when the Supreme Court reversed itself in the early twentieth century. Today, federal regulation and a vigorous press, like many other of his other Constitutional principles, remain elusive goals.[35]

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29. Frederick L. Geddes to Cooley, December 28, 1880, A.P. Callaghan to Cooley, December 29, 1880, both in Cooley Papers and Cooley diary, July 25, 1882, December 16, 1883.

30. Cooley diary, November 4, 12, 29, 1884, February 10, March 5, 1885 and "Cooley and the Corporations," Detroit Evening News, February 26, 1885.

31. Detroit News, March 12, 1885 and "Not a Question of Motive," Detroit Evening News, March 16, 1885.

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33. Cooley diary, May 7, 26, 28, July 31, August 25, September 11, 29, 1885.

34. Jones, "Cooley and "Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism," 751-752.

35. Knowlton, "Thomas McIntyre Cooley," 310, 323; Thomas K. McCraw, Prophets of Regulation (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1984):62-63; Albro Martin, Enterprise Denied: Origins of the Decline of American Railroads, 1897-1917 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); and Paul W. MacAvoy, The Economic Effects of Regulation: The Trunk-Line Cartels and the Interstate Commerce Commission Before 1900 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965).

"Legal Immunity for Free Speaking": Judge Thomas M. Cooley, The Detroit Evening News and New York Times v. Sullivan

The United States Supreme Court issued its most important free expression opinion in March 1964, New York Times v. Sullivan. Scholars have pointed to various influences for the decision, but one explicitly cited by its author, Justice William A. Brennan, was Thomas M. Cooley. The leading American jurist and scholar of his day, Cooley attempted in several Michigan Supreme Court decisions to acknowledge the modernized, commercially-motivated late nineteenth-century press yet retain the law's Jeffersonian-Jacksonian ideal of free public speech. His philosophy was best summarized when he wrote in 1883, "however damaging it may be to individuals, there should and must be legal immunity for free speaking, and that justice and the cause of good government would suffer if it were otherwise."

Although scholars have amply investigated Cooley's legal thinking, they have overlooked the historical circumstances that influenced his free speech philosophy. Most ironic was the 1873 founding of the Detroit Evening News by James E. Scripps, half-brother of E.W. Scripps. The Evening News instigated several libel suits that helped Cooley expound his free expression theories. It also campaigned against Cooley and led to his defeat for re-election to Michigan's high court in 1885. Notwithstanding the personal embarrassment he experienced during the campaign, Cooley argued for the rest of his life that public officials deserved less protection from libel than private figures, the same position Justice Brennan adopted some eighty-years later in Times v. Sullivan.

CS

The Dilemma of Femininity:
Gender and Journalistic Professionalism in World War II

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Abstract

This study examined women's wartime experiences in journalism to explore the significance of World War II as a watershed in the history of women journalists. Using gender as the category of analysis, the study approached the war as a discursive field where men and women in journalism strove to either maintain or contest the masculine code of professionalism. Trade journals provided the main source for assessing the influence of the war on women in journalism as well as the contribution of women to journalism in wartime.

The manpower shortage on the home front brought young women unprecedented opportunities for entry-level positions in the newsroom. By 1944 women were shouldering more than half of the journalistic activities in areas stricken by the manpower crisis. Not only did the number of women journalists soar, their professional horizon broadened in the war years. No longer confined to the women's pages or the bottom of the professional hierarchy, women journalists stepped into positions traditionally held by men. Some of them even broke into the almost exclusively male territory of war correspondence.

The rapid increase of women in wartime challenged the traditional sex-typing of journalism as a "man's" job. Devaluation of femininity, however, preserved men as the standard of professionalism and traits associated with masculinity as the core of professional identity. Despite women's wartime progress in the profession, the masculine orientation of the field severely curtailed the prospect of long-term improvement in the status of women journalists. Women were nonetheless instrumental to the proper functioning of the press under the stress of war.

The 1940 screwball comedy His Girl Friday featured the Rosalind Russell-Gary Grant duet as Hildy Johnson and Walter Burns. Hildy, a no-nonsense city reporter, is frustrated with the locker-room misogyny in the newsroom, but she never demands that it become woman-friendly. She resolves instead to leave her job to be a full-time suburban housewife. She tells Walter, her editor and ex-husband, the reason why she is quitting: "I'm gonna be a woman, not a newsgetting machine." With wit and charm, Walter convinces Hildy that a domestic life is not her calling and wins back his ex-wife as well as leading reporter. Opting in the end for a tough career rather than comfortable domesticity, Hildy chooses to sacrifice her womanhood to meet the masculine standards in her profession and proudly declares, "I'm a newspaperman."[1]

In Woman of the Year, 1942, Katharine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy portrayed Tess Harding and Sam Craig as the dueling couple. A star wartime political reporter for a major New York City newspaper, Tess is a woman who would not sacrifice an ounce of her demanding news career for her role as a wife. In her spare time, she talks to women's groups about feminism rather than stay home to prepare dinner. Her husband, Sam, is a sportswriter on the same paper. The night she is to receive the Woman of the Year Award, Sam walks out on her, retorting acidly, "I've got the perfect lead, the woman of the year is not a woman at all!"[2]

Strong female characters such as Hildy and Tess enlivened movies of the early 1940s.[3] Even in the fantasy world of Hollywood, however, it was inconceivable to be professional and womanly at the same time in the male world of journalism. The term "woman journalist" was indeed an oxymoron. Both Hildy's assertion and Sam's emotional one-line outburst captured the complex tension between gender and professional identity that surfaced in journalism during World War II.

Journalism was traditionally considered a male enterprise. The ideal journalist was distinguished by flexibility to work late evening shifts, perseverance to meet daily deadlines, aggressiveness to get scoops, courage to cover gruesome crime scenes, and sophistication to understand government bureaucracy. All qualities culminated in the professional ethos of "coolness under fire."[4] Identified with masculinity, these characteristics appeared antithetical to the stereotype of women as docile, naive, timid, weak, and flighty. Working on women's pages was the only journalistic activity deemed compatible with traditional ideas of femininity. Extending women's primary social function in the private sphere, women journalists wrote about food preparation, home decoration, child care, personal relationships, social life, etc. Even when they branched out of the women's department, women journalists often distinguished themselves with the feminine point of view that uncovered the human interest side of hard news. Conceived overall as a "man's" job, journalism was not regarded as a field suitable for women.

World War II is a historical point of gender disruption that allows one to question the sex-typing of journalism that reflected the seemingly natural and immutable differences between men and women. Comprehensive texts often characterize World War II as a brief boom period for women in journalism but fail to investigate whether the war was truly a watershed for them.[5] Attempts to focus on the significance of the war from the perspective of women tend to celebrate the achievements of a few notable female war correspondents.[6] With a mission to show that women were as professional as men in reporting the war, these accounts reflect and reinforce the assumption that men were the standard of journalistic excellence. Both the home-front and the war-front approaches thus failed to grasp the gender implications of the wartime experiences of women in journalism.

This study approaches the war as a discursive field where gender intertwines with professional identity. For men and women in journalism, another war front opened in their struggles to either contest or maintain the masculine terms that defined the profession. To illuminate the hidden code of gender in the conception of professional standards, trade journals in the war years were screened to assess the news industry's reaction to the manpower crisis and the ensuing influx of women. Discussions on these issues appeared consistently in Editor & Publisher but graced the pages of The Guild Reporter only occasionally. The Newspaper Guild remained mostly concerned with labor issues such as strikes, contract negotiations, and the spirit of guild members. This study's focus on gender should not obscure its goal to explore the meaning of the war to women in journalism as well as the significance of women to journalism in wartime.

"U. S. AT WAR !" Big headlines in newspapers across the country announced the coming of World War II to America on December 8, 1941. War was great news to the news industry; war created a wealth of stories and increased the public's demand for information. Preoccupied with mirroring the exciting world at war, newspapers at first did not see themselves in that very world they reflected. Journalism, a profession in which men occupied 75 percent of all reporting and editing positions according to the 1940 U. S. Census, found itself in dismay at the manpower shortage. Only a year into the war, Kenneth E. Olsen, dean of the Medill School of Journalism at the University of Wisconsin, estimated that daily newspapers would have more than 6,300 vacancies in all departments within the next six months.[7] Alarmingly, the news industry had no replacement prospects.

In July, 1942, the War Manpower Commission in charge of the national mobilization declared newspapers as one of thirty-five "essential activities" eligible for occupational deferments. The industry lobbied for a broad coverage of deferment. Editor & Publisher rallied publishers to "demonstrate very definitely that the removal of any given man from his job would cause a serious loss of effectiveness."[8] Much to the chagrin of the industry, however, the commission extended draft deferments to only four categories of journalistic jobs: managing editors, news editors, foreign correspondents, and photographers.[9]

In the early stage of the manpower crisis, newspapers relied on draft deferments as their major coping strategy although they contradicted the national war effort that the press was helping to mobilize. While papers were devoting advertising space to aid in the recruiting of women war workers, the selling of war bonds, blood donation drives, and various programs to help win the war, Editor & Publisher endorsed deferment claims as "altogether proper and legitimate."[10] Ironically, the ideal of masculinity championed by the profession undermined the deferment strategy. Journalists were eager to answer the manly call of patriotic duty. Some of them resented employers' claims for deferred service status.[11] Many volunteered to serve in all ranks from officer to private. By February, 1943, no less than 25,000 newspaper employees were under arms or in essential war activities.[12]

As the United States got deeper into the war, the manpower drain became more and more devastating to newspapers, and deferment claims could no longer solve the problem. Isaac Gershman, general manager of the City News Bureau of Chicago, illuminated the crisis in February, 1943. "Since a little more than a year ago we have lost more than eighty men, a turnover rate of 200 percent," he said. "To one newspaper alone, we lost eleven men in a group. So we decided to take girls."[13]

The course of history showed that women provided society with a flexible supply of labor. The war years were no exception.[14] To help with the nation's war effort, 6.2 millions women left their homes to take the jobs men left behind.[15] During the war, the employment rate of women rose from 17.6 percent to 37 percent.[16] Most women moved into blue-collar work, particularly in the booming war industries. Except in the federal government, women did not expand their employment opportunities in white-collar sectors.

Even in the wartime exigency, the news industry was reluctant to tap the female labor force to solve the manpower problem. In 1940, women already constituted 25 percent of the nation's editors and reporters. Increasing the number of women would further threaten the tradition of male dominance in the profession. A higher visibility of women would also contradict the masculinity of the newsman's job.

Employers resisted the hiring of women until it clearly became the last resort. In the first year of the war, Cleveland newspapers lost three hundred men to draft calls, but women did not move into the editorial rooms of newspapers such as Cleveland Press, Cleveland News, and The Plain Dealer. Men in clerical positions were advanced to fill vacancies in reporting and editing, while women were hired to take their places.[17] Employers were so reluctant to hire women that they zealously recruited men formerly considered unqualified. Columns and columns of want ads for draft-exempt or service-discharged men appeared in Editor & Publisher. "Those too old or too young for the draft," recalled Nan Robertson, reporter of The New York Times, "functional alcoholics, semi-incompetents, or men who have been judged not physically fit for the military" filled vacancies in the newsroom.[18]

To uphold the masculine image of the profession, even this group of marginally qualified men seemed attractive to employers, who assumed that maleness naturally ensured masculinity. Some employers, however, found the tradition of a family wage for the male worker too expensive. Under the uncertainty of wartime economy, the lower wages of women sometimes outweighed bias toward men. Alerted of several instances in which newspapers refused men employment, Editor & Publisher urged employers to do their best to meet the required pay of these men based on their age, experience, and "material responsibility."[19]

Not only did most employers resist hiring women, their male staffs resented working with women. In October, 1942, a feature story on women new to the field in Time magazine revealed the less than amicable attitudes of male old timers in the newsroom toward female rookies.[20] Since the war started, William L. Ayers, the "fat-faced, bull-necked, roughshod" managing editor of the Chicago Journal of Commerce, had been dreading the imminent necessity of hiring women. With his all-male copy desk depleted by draft calls the previous month, the time had come. No one, least of all his "cryptic, cigar-chewing" day-side editor, Sid Forbes, had ever heard of a female copyreader. Forbes did not even like to think of one. The rest of the Journal staff, strong men all according to the Time article, turned pale at the idea of having women around in the newsroom. After a month, "the swellest hennery in town," as Ayers called his short-lived all female copy desk, was replaced by men.

Time reported that the women left the newspaper because they could not distinguish facts from fabrications inserted in the copies by their male colleagues. The oversights of the female copy editors were reprinted in the magazine supposedly to amuse readers. It was clear that the article meant to validate the professional bias that women simply did not have what it took to be a good journalist. Inadvertently though the story shed light on the intolerance of women in the masculine newsroom culture.

Despite the strong resistance of men, hiring women soon became imperative as the small pool of men ran out. The manpower drain hit small dailies and weeklies much harder than metropolitan newspapers. Because of their limited financial resources compared to large publications, small papers before the war were already working with as small staffs as possible. To fill the vacancies, they had to compete not only with the booming war industries, but also with the metropolitan papers, which drew on the reservoir of small newspaper personnel to fill gaps.[21] The so called "institutional advertising" of great corporations in the war years benefited large publications much more than the struggling small papers.[22] Unable to afford competitive pay, their existing staff as well as prospective replacements could easily be lured away to metropolitan newsrooms and war plants. The stress of war forced some to suspend publication.[23]

The dire situation of smaller papers pushed the news industry to develop a replacement pool of women, especially young and inexperienced women, who could provide cheaper labor. In April, 1943, the American Newspaper Publishers Association started a campaign to recruit young women. Letters, interviews and advertisements encouraged graduating female high school students to take short training courses. To lure them away from the more lucrative jobs in the booming war industry, the news industry offered rare opportunities of entry into the field and long-term prospects as incentives. "It seems altogether likely that young women who break into newspaper work during the war will find a good many opportunities for permanent jobs and at rates of pay comparable with those of the men the are filling."[24] Opening the newsroom to women, however, was clearly an emergency measure. The effort to encourage young women to enter journalism was to last only for the duration.[25]

Echoing the news industry's effort to recruit young women, in September, 1943, the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs announced that now at last came the chance for women to get that newspaper job they had been dreaming about. "Now that the bright young men who formerly were favored with most of the beginners' jobs have gone off to war," an article in Independent Women reported, "editors are turning to the bright young gals."[26] Even the big metropolitan newspapers were beginning to open to women "the usually closely guarded portals of the city room."[27] Apparently with a couple of years' experience on a small town or college newspaper, a young woman could move into a position in the city room at a minimum of $28 per week, with a $5 increase after a year.

The manpower shortage indeed provided young women with unprecedented opportunities for entry-level positions ranging from news to production. In 1943, eighteen-year-old Marilyn Nesbitt became the first woman to cover the Board of Trade Activities for Kansas City Star in its seventy-four year history.[28] At The New Orlean Times Picayune, four women now ran and checked proofs nightly.[29] Even The New York Herald Tribune bowed to wartime necessity and hired two copy girls. Janet Lester and Florence Birmingham became the first women to work in the newspapers's city room since World War I.[30] Women of color, if persistent enough, might overcome the double bind of gender and race to break into the mainstream press. The San Diego Union and Tribune Sun boasted of having probably the first Chinese copy girl in the country. After a stab at aircraft work, Lin Lyang attempted to enter newspaper work. On her eleventh visit to the managing editor's office, she was finally put on the payroll in August, 1942.[31]

Deep-rooted bias against women persisted in the mobilization of women in journalism. Femininity was a disadvantage in a profession that valued masculine traits embodied by the objective, persistent, bold, aggressive, and competitive journalist. Many editors and publishers simply believed that "women make lousy reporters," as George Minot, managing editor of The Boston Herald, said to Ann Hicks when she graduated from the Columbia University School of Journalism with honors in 1940.[32] In the 1943 meeting of the Inland Daily Press Association, Isaac Gershman, general manager of the City News Bureau of Chicago, advised his colleagues: "We found that in hiring girls we must be twice as careful in selecting them as we would in selecting a man."[33] Although he was pleased at the progress of his copy girls, W. D. "Bill" Chandler, acting editor of The San Francisco Chronicle, maintained that "it is more difficult to put a woman in a spot than it is to have a man take over because the average woman doesn't look upon newspaper work as a life-time career as a man does."[34]

Assumptions based on sexual stereotypes confronted the young women entering journalism. In training, a woman had to demonstrate that she was not of those "girls" who "did not work well in a group, those having pretty jealousies, and those demanding unwarranted promotions or privileges" in the words of Isaac Gershman.[35] Although editors needed them to cope with the shortage of manpower, they also harbored serious doubts about the competence of women. Gershman, for example, devised a quality check for his female job candidates. They were given test assignments during which their supervisors could closely observe them. Besides news stories, each had to strive for a satisfactory written report on her "attitude, personality, and ability to adapt herself, both to people and to working conditions."[36] Editors at The Chicago Journal of Commerce tested their new female copy editors with fake wire stories to see if they could distinguish facts from fabrication.[37] None of these extra demands were made of the small and precious pool of men available.

To ease the burden on editors and publishers of "the slow and sometimes painful process of training inexperienced women,"[38] the National Council on Professional Education for Journalism developed wartime programs specifically for female high school graduates. Journalism schools in Northwestern, Syracuse, and Boston offered short courses ranging from six to twelve months. This undertaking to enlarge the replacement pool of women encountered criticism from men who sought to capitalize on the manpower drain.[39] Editor & Publisher reassured them that the women would not threaten their wartime opportunities. "None of the deans of the three schools mentioned believed that a six-month short course to high school girl graduates can produce people competent enough to hold a metropolitan desk or street job."[40] The program aimed only to train them in the fundamentals of writing and editing for $25 per week entry-level positions in order to rescue small publications from suspension. A 1944 national survey indicated that women were shouldering more than half of the journalistic responsibility in areas stricken by manpower shortage.[41]

Discrimination, however, did not subside with the influx of women into journalism. Throughout the war years when women were advancing in the field, their male colleagues vigilantly patrolled the borders of their privileged positions in the professional hierarchy. The all-male National Press Club continued to exclude women. Women journalists had no access to speeches given by officials in the men's club. The Overseas Writers, made up of men who had experience working abroad, refused women membership. Paying the same dues as men, women in the White House Correspondents Association were nonetheless barred from its annual dinner. In 1944, they filed a formal protest with the association, but to no avail.[42]

Far from eroding the opportunities for men, the influx of women into journalism boosted men's market value. Some editors maintained that they could not use women on night shifts and that there was an even higher demand for men to relieve the problem created by too many women on their staff.[43] Although the editorial staff of The San Francisco Chronicle was switching from young men to young women, editor Bill Chandler said that "it has been necessary to hire a few older experienced men to serve as a nucleus on the staff."[44]

In addition to opening the profession to young women with journalistic ambition, the manpower drain also presented career opportunities for women who were already in the field. It was a day of jubilation when members of the National Federation of Press Women gathered on July 28, 1944, to assess the positive influence of the war on women's news careers. Speakers declared that journalism was no longer a "no-woman's" land. Presenting a national survey on the place of women in wartime journalism, [Miss] Joe Baumgartner, chair of the annual writing contest of the National Federation of Press Women, said, "the war has been and is at the present time instrumental in elevating women in contemporary journalism to kaleidoscopic heights. The wartime manpower shortage has enabled women to step into positions never before visualized."[45]

No longer confined to the women's pages or the bottom of the professional hierarchy, women journalists achieved breakthroughs both on the war front and the home front. The 1944 nationwide writers' contest sponsored by the Federation of Press Women indicated the broadening of women's journalistic activities. In the past when women's pages were the major journalistic medium of expression for women, the women's department generated most of the entries in the contest. In 1944, they received no entries from the classification of women's pages.[46]

A 1943 survey by the University of Oklahoma School of Journalism showed that more than ninety-two women were editing newspapers or filling other executive positions on Oklahoma newspapers, spots ordinarily handled by men.[47] Before the war, the United Press bureau in Washington, D. C., had only one woman; in 1944, the bureau had eleven women on beats and eight others in the office.[48] In the Senate and House press galleries, the number of women increased from thirty-three in 1940 to seventy-four in 1943.[49] Whereas only three or four women used to cover presidential press conferences, among the four hundred reporters accredited in 1944, thirty-three were women.[50]

On the home front, the number of women in journalism reached a critical mass in the manpower crisis to cast doubt on the traditional sex-typing of the profession. If journalism was truly a man's job, how could so many women became competent journalists? The wartime increase and advancement of women presented a serious challenge to the masculine image of the profession. After all it was a male persona that represented the prototype of a journalist: the hard-boiled, street-wise, cigar-chewing, beer-drinking, and card-playing news junkie.

Here feminist theorist Marilyn Frye's analysis of male chauvinism helps to understand how the contradiction of women doing men's jobs in journalism was resolved. Frye points out that in a situation where a man is confronted with a woman's abilities, he performs a "perceptual flip" to block out the fact that she is female. By seeing her as "one of the boys," he avoids acknowledging her abilities as a woman.[51]

In the same vein, to stabilize the fusion of masculinity and professional identity, women in journalism had to be defeminized into "newsgetting machines." In the mobilization of womanpower in wartime journalism, the professional tenet was that "a girl can do a man's job if she is trained and treated just like a man."[52] At The San Francisco Chronicle, editor Bill Chandler took pride in turning girls into "copy boys."[53] "Good morning, gentlemen," opened most Washington press conferences, with women constituting sometimes nearly half of the audience.[54] "You write like a man" was the highest compliment a woman could strive for in the newsroom. Reinforcing the reporting and writing styles established by men as the standard of journalistic proficiency, the compliment also exerted pressure on women to conceal their sex. When writing a "real honest-to-God he-man story," Ruth Cowan, war correspondent of the Associated Press became "R. Baldwin Cowan."[55] Sylvia Porter had to by-line her financial news stories "S. F. Porter" when she joined The New York Post in 1942.[56] Professional wisdom had it that a woman's by-line would undermine the writer's authority and credibility. The disregard of the gender of women journalists served to discredit the possibility that one could be womanly and professional at the same time.

Countering the vigorous denial of their gender, women journalists on the home front began to understand womanhood as a central part of their professional identity. In a 1944 interview, Mary Hornaday, staff correspondent of The Christine Science Monitor, brought attention to the detriment women suffered in the masculine professional culture that made invisible their gender and hence their special contribution to journalism. Earlier in her career, she took the "you write like a man" remark as a compliment. Now she was cautious about embracing the implicit degradation of women and the equation of male value to journalistic excellence.

> Eve Curie, I remind myself, does not "write like a man." Anne O'Hare McCormick does not "write like a man." Women, they have shown, can have the same firmness and conciseness of expression that man-directed newspapers have long fostered and still contribute a new note of sympathy and compassion they have long expressed in family life the world over...women have within them a special faculty for convincing editors and the public that it doesn't take a scare or a fight to make a headline.[57]

No longer internalizing the masculine standards in the profession, Hornaday asserted that "newspaperwomen contributed a special quality to news writing that is rare among men."

Hornaday's awareness made her realize that although there was no official discrimination against women journalists, there were nonetheless subtle prejudices that each individual woman must eliminate. In July, 1944, Editor & Publisher published a feature on her as an outstanding Washington correspondent. She turned the interview into a chance to protest against the lingering barriers against women as well as the seemingly innocuous disparagement. The term "paper dolls" had came into fashion to describe women journalists as their number soared in the manpower shortage. Annoyed by the belittling connotations, she said "it only proved that most men are 'too damned dumb' to hire smart newspaper women."[58]

Connecting gender to their professional identity as Hornaday did often made the difference as to whether women journalists felt outraged by what would be considered discrimination today. Once they dared assert their gender, they stopped conforming to the male majority and demanded the profession accommodate their differences. In 1943, women of the Washington Press Corps lobbied powerfully for "a power room" in the Capitol. In addition, they denounced the social gatherings where journalists made news contacts as "stag affairs" that hampered women's ability to gather news.[59]

Besides articulation of their indignation, women journalists expressed through attire their demand to be recognized as professional as they were womanly. While the older generation of newspaperwomen dressed in a more masculine style, the younger generation advancing in the war years did not shy away from feminine decor. Veteran correspondents such as Marie Manning Gasch of the International News Service and Martha Strayer of The Washington Daily News went to work in "mannish suits and flat-heeled shoes."[60] Younger correspondents such as Mary Hornaday of The Christian Science Monitor and Ann Cottrell of The New York Herald Tribune wore "not too severely tailored clothes and becoming hats."[61] Deviating even further from the masculine dress code, Lee Carson of the International News Service wore "dressy clothes, high-heeled shoes, theatrical hair-do's and liquid make-up that gives her face a mask-like appearance resembling that of a Balinese dancer."[62] Sporting a siren look, she was the epitome of the women's audacity to insist that femininity not be compromised in a male dominated profession. The feminine styles of women journalists made a mockery of the masculine image of the profession as well as a powerful statement that they could do a man's job and still looked like women.

The dissonance between femininity and journalism appeared even more salient on the war front. The masculine traits valued in the profession culminated in the image of the roaming foreign correspondent in a trench coat, the intrepid lone ranger chronicling the intrigue of international politics. More than any other area of reporting, foreign correspondence was a male monopoly. In time of peace, the field marked the pinnacle of professional prestige. The title denoted "superior journalistic skills, broad knowledge of intricate subjects, facility with languages, ingenuity at handling unexpected obstacles blocking the gathering of news."[63] In time of war, the field paved an expressway to stardom. The war correspondent, in addition to journalistic proficiency, commanded "physical courage and incredible stamina to withstand the constant threat of personal destruction; mental courage to witness rampant brutality and injustice, yet report the facts without fear, prejudice, or distortion."[64]

Among male war correspondents, traits associated with masculinity such as bravery, fortitude, adventurousness, etc. were encouraged and rewarded. Proud newsmen in decorated uniform graced the covers of the wartime issues of Quill, a magazine published by the fraternity of men in journalism. Trade publications such as The Guild Reporter and Editor & Publisher celebrated the valor of male correspondents. For example, Leo S. Disher, war correspondent of the United Press, won the Purple Heart in April, 1943, for "extraordinary heroism, great devotion to duty, meritorious public service for his conduct during the attack on Oran."[65] "Disher was wounded fifteen times," Editor & Publisher reported, "but swam ashore to dictate eye-witness story to another U. P. man in Oran Hospital."[66] Parachuted to a jungle from an Army bomber in a storm, Vern Hangland of the Associated Press miraculously survived a forty-three-day ordeal of exposure, starvation, and fever. He was decorated for "devotion to duty and fortitude."[67]

The masculine domain nonetheless attracted women journalists. Professionally, war correspondence offered opportunities to prove themselves, and many went to the front for the "big story."[68] Personally, it promised exotic adventures as well as the excitement of pioneering in a no-woman's land. In a 1941 interview, Eleanor Packard of the United Press reminisced about "the funny little Moslem hotel where the chamber maids wear harem trousers," the villa in Madrid where she and other correspondents "munched Spanish omelets made into sandwiches and drank rioja vino tinto squirted into our mouths from goatskin botas."[69] Dressed in "a Yugoslav coat, Rumanian hat, Hungarian boots," Sonia Tomara of The New York Herald Tribune had her photograph taken in Istanbul.[70] Life photographer Margaret Bourke-White used to picture herself "doing all the things that women never do."[71] When she became the first woman correspondent to go on a combat mission in January, 1943, she wrote during the bombing raid: "I was the first woman ever to be allowed such a privilege. I was very proud."[72]

This group of women journalists characterized in Independent Woman as "adventurous, audacious, resourceful, and impervious to the danger surrounding to them" finally broke into the male-dominated terrain of war correspondence in World War II.[73] In World War I, the U. S. Army had refused to accredit women correspondents. Through sheer persistence, 127 women won accreditation from the War Department, which accredited a total of seventeen hundred war correspondents.[74]

The field of war correspondence was immune from the manpower shortage that affected other branches of journalism because draft deferments covered foreign correspondents. Without a demand for their service, women had to bank on their gender to enter the field. They got the chance to cover the theaters of war with strings attached -- they were there to provide a "woman's point of view." In August, 1942, Marjorie Avery, woman's editor of The Detroit Free Press, won her overseas assignment to cover the war for the Knight Newspapers. "She leaves the international politics and fighting to the experts," Editor & Publisher reported, "and dwells on the homely little subjects that are of interest to the women--and the men, too--at home."[75] For some, the feminine vantage point turned out to be a restraint on their journalistic careers. Ruth Cowan, war correspondent for the Associated Press, recalled, "I always had to worry about the women's angle, but that was not the real story. I was after the real story. A women's angle would be covering nurses, covering hospitalization, covering whatever civilian things would carry over into the military, covering the food, but not covering the fighting, the battles, not going in when they planned what kind of a move they would make."[76]

The blessings of femininity that helped women break into the ranks of war correspondents became a curse in the theaters of war. Military officials imposed on women journalists traditional ideas of femininity to justify differential treatment of male and female correspondents. Women journalists were perceived as the weaker sex and paradoxically the dangerous siren. "In a combat situation," Margaret Bourke-White noted, "men tend to overprotect"[77] To shield them from unpredictable attacks, the Army sent women correspondents to the war front by sea in convoys while their male colleagues flew. The nice safe way backfired when Margaret Bourke-White went to the African front in 1942. Expressing her frustration in a humorous tone, Bourke-White wrote: "The upshot of that was that those who flew---and this included most of the brass---stepped out on the African continent with their feet dry. I had to row part of the way."[78] Her ship was torpedoed. In a war zone, a women correspondent had to be accompanied by an officer of no lesser rank than lieutenant. The moment she wondered off her billet without the escort, she immediately violated the Army regulation and could be disaccredited.[79]

The Army banned women correspondents from covering combat, maintaining that the very presence of women up front where men were doing dangerous work would be so distracting that they would be careless and have accidents.[80] Helen Kirkpatrick, war correspondent of The Chicago Daily News, remembered being the only one left to hold the fort in the newspaper's Paris bureau: "I suppose if I hadn't been [a woman], I might have been assigned to cover the landings in Normandy, but the men were all there."[81] To restrict the women's access to combat news, the Army ruled that they could go no closer to the front lines than did the Women's Army Corps or Army nurses.[82] Ironically sometimes the hospitals where the women were billeted were as much as forty miles closer to the front than the comfortable press camps the Army set up for male correspondents. To the chagrin of their male colleagues, the women managed to scoop them despite their disadvantages.[83]

Compared to the home front, the dilemma of femininity on the war front cut in an opposite direction. While the mass of women journalists on the home front were defeminized, the small number of women on the war front were overfeminized. Through accentuation of their gender, the challenge they presented to the masculinity of the field was neutralized. Imposing traditional ideas of femininity on women war correspondents kept them contained in the margin of war correspondence and therefore preserved the potent masculinity of the terrain. Under the strong emphasis on gender difference, women war correspondents strove to meet the masculine standards to prove that they were no different from their male colleagues. They asked no preferential treatments and avoided exceptional notice.[84] In the European theater, Iris Carpenter of *The Boston Globe*, Lee Carson of the International News Service, and Ann Stringer of the United Press asked no favors, dug their own foxholes, and took front-line life without complaint.[85] Looking back at her wartime experiences, Helen Kirkpatrick felt that sometimes she overdid it and came across tougher than the men.[86]

In contrast to women journalists on the home front who were asserting their femininity, women war correspondents had to disregard their gender. Without contextualizing their experiences, Lilya Wagner argued that based on her interviews with women war correspondents, gender was not as influential in shaping their careers as assumed.[87] A further inquiry into the tension between gender and professional identity reveals the danger of taking experience as evidence.[88] The women correspondents who internalized the masculine code of journalistic proficiency were not likely to conceive of their experiences on the war front in terms of their gender. Some of them resented the mark of gender in the title "women" war correspondents and thought of themselves as "war correspondents," period."[89] Emphatically denying that gender was a factor in her journalistic career, Helen Kirkpatrick took pride in being just "one of the guys." Asked if she brought a feminine perspective to her reporting, she replied, "I didn't see there was any difference."[90] At a later point in the same interview, however, she acknowledged her frustration with not being able to cover combat news as her male colleagues. The contradiction between her self perception and her own account of experiences could be seen as an illustration of how women war correspondents coped in the male dominated world on the front by disengaging gender from their professional identity.

The World War II manpower shortage in journalism did create career opportunities for women. According to census figures, the number of women editors and reporters almost doubled from 14,750 in 1940 to 28,500 in 1950. The percentage of women in the field increased from 25.3 percent to 32 percent in the war decade. As much as women capitalized on the manpower crisis, however, the masculine orientation of the profession curtailed their long-term progress. Draft deferments extended to key editorial positions protected men in the top niches of the professional hierarchy. The scarcity of manpower boosted the market value of the small pool of available men who had previous experience. Unable to compete with other men in peacetime, they moved in wartime from the margin to positions supervising inexperienced women and to metropolitan newspapers, which had the financial resources to avoid the last resort to young women's cheaper labor.

The flexible and affordable labor of young women was instrumental to the proper functioning of the press under the stress of the war. They were especially significant to the survival of small newspapers stricken hard by the draft and by competition with lucrative war industries. In terms of vertical distribution, young women moved into the bottom of the professional hierarchy; in terms of horizontal distribution, they tended to concentrate in small publications rather than large metropolitan papers, which provided higher pay and prestige.

In developing the replacement pool composed of young women, the profession did not radically depart from tradition. It had long been acceptable for young women to have a brief career in journalism before they married. The expectation that these young women would soon leave the newsroom to get married also complemented the anticipated postwar restoration of male dominance in journalism. To protect the newsmen drafted, the Newspaper Guild fought to include in contracts military clauses that guaranteed returning servicemen their same positions or comparable ones without diminution in pay.[91]

For women who were already in the field, the war enabled them to break out of the women's pages where they were usually relegated regardless of their interests and abilities. Contemplating the long-term influence of the war in the 1944 conference of the National Federation of Press Women, Joe Baumgartner wondered, "Could it be that women's sections of papers will eventually disappear, leaving the society section, always popular from a social news angle, to exist on its own, with other women's activities integrated into the news or editorial styles of presentation?"[92] The wartime euphoria, however, dissipated with the postwar expansion of women's pages. Not until the late 1960s would women's pages be transformed into today's unisex lifestyle sections.

The manipulation of femininity also mitigated the challenge women presented to the masculine orientation of the profession. Defeminization resolved the contradiction of a large number of women doing what were considered men's jobs. Perceiving these women as she-men served to preserve men as the standard of professionalism and traits associated with masculinity as the core of professional identity. On the other hand, overfeminization minimized the threat posed by the relatively few women in the theaters of war, where masculinity was valorized. The traditional perception of women as the weaker sex justified the sexual division of labor in war correspondence. Men covered the military actions, which were regarded as hard news and hot news; women covered civilian effort, soft news.

These mechanisms succeeded in containing the wartime breakthrough women achieved so that the overall male dominance in journalism survived the manpower crisis. In 1950, American Society of Newspaper Editors, the most prestigious professional organization, listed only five women among its more than five hundred members. Rebecca F. Gross, editor of The Lock Haven in Pennsylvania and one of the women members of ASNE, noted that prejudice against women as editors and executives existed on many larger newspapers. Journalism suffered from such prejudice that led to the loss of women in the readership of newspapers. "The interests of the women were neglected for years," she observed, "and even yet there are few newspaper staffs not predominantly masculine."[93]

Finally, the story of women in journalism may suggest a pattern in how women working in male-dominated fields conceptualize their professional identity. Pioneers such as women war correspondents and the older generation of women journalists tended to internalize the masculine code of professionalism and consign femininity to the periphery of their professional identity. When they reached a critical mass like the women journalists on the home front, they started to question the validity of the masculine standards. Once skepticism turn into subversive challenges, gender became a central part of their professional identity.

Notes

1. Charles Lederer and Ben Hecht, His Girl Friday, directed by Howard Hawks, Columbia, 1940.

2. Ring Lardner, Jr. and Michael Kanin, Woman of the Year, directed by George Stevens, MGM, 1942.

3. For women and movies in the war era, see Andrea S. Walsh, Women's Film and Female Experience, 1940-1950 (New York: Praeger, 1984); Molly Haskell, From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 153-230; Katherine Weibel, Mirror, Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 112-133.

4. Marion Marzolf used this phrase to characterize the city editor in "The Woman Journalist: Colonial Printer to City Desk, Part II" Journalism History 2 (1979): 26.

5. Survey texts of journalism history are only beginning to include notable women journalists. Emery and Emery mentioned in passing that during World War II women broke into the rank of war correspondents. See Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), 480. Texts focusing on women journalists provided more details on the wartime opportunities for women in journalism. See Marion Marzolf, Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1977), 69-72, and Kay Mills, A Place in the News (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1988), 50-64.

6. For women war correspondents, see Julia Edwards, Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1988); Lilya Wagner, Women War Correspondents of World War II (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

7. Editor & Publisher, 9 January 1943, 22.

8. Editor & Publisher, 6 February 1943, 33.

9. Editor & Publisher, 21 August 1943, 6.

10. For the patriotism of the news industry, see for example Editor & Publisher, 31 July 1943, 32; The Guild Reporter, 1 October 1942, 6, and 15 October 1942, 1. For the endorsement of the validity of draft deferments, see Editor and Publisher, 9 January 1943, 22.

11. Editor & Publisher, 9 January 1943, 22.

12. Editor & Publisher, 6 February 1943, 20.

13. Gershman's speech was quoted in L. W. White, "The Manpower

situation," in *Journalism in Wartime, A Symposium of the School of Journalism, the University of Missouri, 1943* sponsored by the American Council on Public Affairs (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943), 154.

14. For changes in the economic status of women in World War II, see D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); William Henry Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harland Davidson, 1987), 211-35.

15. Campbell, 72.

16. Riley, 230.

17. *The Guild Reporter*, 1 December 1942, 3.

18. Nan Robertson, "Rosie the Reporter," chap. in *The Girls in the Balcony, Women, men and the New York Times* (New York: Random House, 1992), 63-64.

19. *Editor & Publisher*, 6 February 1943, 20.

20. "The Women," *Time*, 26 October 1942, 59.

21. *Editor & Publisher*, 5 June 1943, 8.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. *Editor & Publisher*, 29 May 1943, 40.

25. *Editor & Publisher*, 24 April 1943, 92.

26. Sarah Shields Pfeiffer, "Now's Your Chance to Get that Newspaper Job," *Independent Woman*, September 1943, 264.

27. Ibid.

28. *Editor & Publisher*, 28 August 1943, 22.

29. *Editor & Publisher*, 9 January 1943, 34.

30. *Editor & Publisher*, 23 January 1943, 26.

31. *Editor & Publisher*, 6 February 1943, 34.

32. *Editor & Publisher*, 5 August 1942, 56.

33. White, 155.

34. *Editor & Publisher*, 20 February 1943, 29.

35. White, 155.

36. Ibid.

37. "The Women," *Time*.

38. Richard P Carter, chairman of the National Council on Professional Education for Journalism, made this comment about training women to be journalists; see *Editor & Publisher*, 5 June 1943, 8.

39. *Editor & Publisher* announced the formation of special short courses for women in April, 1943. In response to the angry responses from its readers, *Editor & Publisher* defended the training program in the issue dated June 5, 1943.

40. *Editor & Publisher*, 5 June 1943, 8.

41. *Editor & Publisher*, 5 August 1944, 42.

42. "Skirted," *Time*.

43. White, 155.

44. *Editor & Publisher*, 20 February 1943, 29.

45. *Editor & Publisher*, 5 August 1944, 42.

46. Ibid.

47. *Editor & Publisher*, 28 January 1934, 30.

48. "Skirted," *Time*, 13 March 1944, 83.

49. "Ladies of Washington's Working Press," *Newsweek*, 1 March 1943, 64.

50. *Editor & Publisher*, 25 July 1944, 24.

51. Marilyn Frye, *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory* (Freedom, Calif.: The Crossing Press, 1983), 41-51.

52. White, 155

53. *Editor & Publisher*, 20 February 1943, 29.

54. *Editor & Publisher*, 25 July 1944, 24.

55. Interview with Ruth Cowan by Margot H. Knight, *Women in Journalism*, oral history project of the Washington Press Club Foundation, 26 September 1987, 15, in the manuscript collection of Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

56. Marzolf, 24.

57. Editor & Publisher, 25 July 1944, 24.

58. Ibid.

59. "Ladies of Washington's Working Press," Newsweek, 1 March 1943, 64.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Carmen McCormack Simpson, "Foreign Correspondent," Independent Woman, January 1941, 27.

64. Ibid.

65. Editor & Publisher, 17 April 1943, 43.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Wagner, 5.

69. Simpson, 6-7.

70. Simpson, 7.

71. Margaret Bourke-White, Portrait of Myself (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963,) 14.

72. Bourke-White, field notes quoted in Jonathan Silverman, For the World to See: the Life of Margaret Bourke-White (New York: Viking Press, 1983.)

73. Simpson, 6.

74. See Appendix C in Lilya Wagner, Women War Correspondents of World War II (New York: Greenwood Press), 1989.

75. Editor & Publisher, 28 August 1942, 32.

76. Interview with Ruth Cowan, 30.

77. Bourke-White, 202

78. Bourke-White, 203.

79. Ewards, 149.

80. see Bourke-White, 230; "The Rhine Maidens," Newsweek, 19 March 1945, 88.

81. Interview with Helen Kirkpatrick by Anne S. Kasper, Women in Journalism, oral history project of the Washington Press Club Foundation, 3 April 1990, 63, in the manuscript collection of Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

82. "The Rhine Maidens," 88.

83. Edwards, 158.

84. Wagner, 4.

85. "The Rhine Maidens," 88.

86. Interview with Kirkpatrick, 64.

87. Wagner, 1-6.

88. The problems of using subjective accounts of experience as historical evidence was analyzed in Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," Critical Inquiry 17, 1991, 773-97.

89. see Interview with Kirkpatrick, 38; Wagner, 4-5; Edwards, 4-5.

90. Interview with Kirkpatrick, 38.

91. The Guild Reporter, 1 January, 1944, 2.

92. Editor & Publisher, 5 August 1944, 42.

93. American Society of Newspaper Editors Bulletin, 1950.

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'An American Conspiracy':
The Post-Watergate Press and the CIA

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Many scholars and members of the public believe that the Watergate scandal ushered in a new era of investigative reporting. After Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of the Washington Post helped bring down a president, this argument contends, journalists became much more aggressive and more willing to question the government's official explanation of events.

Scholars and observers have seen the 1975 exposés of the intelligence community as quintessential examples of this new spirit among journalists. Stories like Seymour Hersh's revelations of CIA domestic spying and Jack Anderson's disclosure of a secret CIA mission to raise a sunken submarine have been cited as examples of the media's unrestrained pursuit of political scandals after Nixon's resignation.[1]

But careful examination of newspaper, newsmagazine, and television coverage of the intelligence community during the Ford administration demonstrates that the post-Watergate press was often deferential to the executive branch and willing to censor itself at presidential request. As Michael Schudson has contended in his recent book, Watergate in American Memory, the image of a uniformly aggressive press after Watergate is largely a myth.[2]

This study uses the media's reporting on the intelligence community in 1975 to demonstrate that there were distinct limits to the "adversarial" nature of post-Watergate journalism. Some reporters did try to pull the veil of secrecy from the national security state. But many other journalists, acutely aware of their role in bringing down President Nixon, were afraid of the potential costs to the country and to their own profession if they continued to attack the government. As a few unusual reporters tried to push the media to adopt an even more adversarial and aggressive stance, other journalists began to call for a return to a more "responsible," objective press -- a press that respected and tried to stabilize the weakened national institutions.

Even before the Watergate scandal erupted, some neoconservative intellectuals argued that the press was becoming much more adversarial toward the government. The rise of investigative reporting in the late 1960s, the increasingly critical tone of media coverage of the war in Vietnam after the Tet Offensive in 1968, and the spread of alternative or advocacy journalism caused many intellectuals to worry that the media was becoming too much of an independent force in American politics.

Daniel Hallin has called this argument the "oppositional media thesis."[3] Advocates of this thesis claimed that the "imperial media" had begun in the late 1960s and early 1970s to question all political authority.[4] For example, in an important 1971 article in Commentary, Daniel Patrick Moynihan claimed that the press had grown "more and more influenced by attitudes genuinely hostile to American society and American government." If the "culture of disparagement" did not end, he predicted, American democracy would be endangered.[5]

These complaints in prestigious opinion journals increased during the Watergate scandal. The prominent role of the *Washington Post* in advancing the Watergate story -- later mythologized in the book and movie *All the President's Men* -- caused some pundits to worry that the press was becoming too powerful. In 1974, for example, Paul Weaver charged that the new aggressiveness in journalism represented "an incipient retreat ... from the entire liberal tradition of American journalism and the system of liberal democracy which it has fostered and served."[6] Similar complaints continued even though, as scholars have noted, the media's role in exposing Watergate was not nearly as great as many critics and supporters believed.[7]

Many members of the general public also seemed uneasy about the media's alleged responsibility for bringing down a president. In June 1973, one-third of the American people said they agreed with Vice President Agnew's charges that the liberal press was out to get President Nixon.[8] Shortly after Nixon's resignation, one angry reader, typical of many Americans who believed that the press had grown too powerful and too adversarial, asked the editor of the *Washington Post*: "Now that the *Post* has dispatched Richard Nixon with one-sided journalism, what new crusade will the *Post* undertake?" Many Americans were "honestly fearful" of the media's power because they knew that journalists had become "wholly unaccountable for their actions," the writer concluded.[9]

Faced with the real possibility of a public backlash, many editors and publishers worried that their public support -- and possibly even their First Amendment freedoms -- were in serious jeopardy. Journalists were so concerned by the anti-press backlash after Watergate, Time magazine declared in 1974, that "many are torn between self-congratulation and self-doubt."[10] As Post publisher Katharine Graham said in a post-Watergate letter, "A lot of the administration mud and deliberate attacks on the press has stuck -- people do think we are unfair and too powerful and that someone should control or at least judge us."[11] The Post, as Nixon's primary nemesis in the media, had received most of the credit for exposing the Watergate scandal. As a result, it was especially worried about this public reaction.[12]

Media magnates, in short, were concerned that the press's prominent role in Watergate would damage the legitimacy and credibility of their industry. They wanted to reassure the public and the government that the press, though free of government controls, would act responsibly. "Editors said, 'Let's watch out for reporters who try to act like Woodward and Bernstein,'" former Post editor Ben Bradlee recalls.[13]

Moreover, many publishers had personal and ideological reasons for restraining their more aggressive reporters in the post-Watergate period. Adversarial reporters can offend advertisers, provoke costly libel suits, and anger important news sources. They can also irritate the publishers' friends. As Tom Wicker has pointed out, the press, as a member of the establishment, does not want to risk establishment disapproval. Elite journalists fear "not just government denunciation but a general attitude among 'responsible' people and groups, even other journalists, that to 'go too far' or 'get too involved' is bad for the country, not team play, not good form, not responsible."[14]

This media desire to reassure the public and control aggressive reporters is demonstrated in two cases of reporting on the intelligence community in 1975. The few journalists who tried to report on Gerald Ford's CIA the way that Woodward and Bernstein had covered Richard Nixon's White House were quickly punished for transgressing the limits of "responsible" post-Watergate journalism.

Seymour Hersh, the energetic iconoclast who had exposed the My Lai massacre and Henry Kissinger's wiretaps, was one reporter who was not affected by the post-Watergate atmosphere of caution and retrenchment. Just months after Nixon resigned, Hersh reported a scandal so momentous that his employer, the New York Times, later called it "son of Watergate." He described a "massive" domestic spying program by the CIA against American dissidents.[15] According to his sources, the Agency had collected 10,000 files on American citizens even though it is barred by law from police and security functions within the United States.

The Times, which had always been a strong advocate of greater oversight of the CIA, gave Hersh's reporting prominent display. In fact, perhaps because of their embarrassment at being scooped by the Post on the Watergate scandal, the Times editors consistently devoted generous space to Hersh's domestic spying stories. Congress reacted dramatically to the revelations by establishing special investigating committees headed by Senator Frank Church and Congressman Otis Pike. President Gerald Ford also appointed a presidential commission to examine the charges.

Given the fame and fortune recently heaped on Woodward and Bernstein, one might expect that the rest of the media would enthusiastically try to advance Hersh's story. But, as Times reporter Harrison Salisbury later wrote, the journalists of Washington "did not rush to verify" the charges. "Instead word circulated in Georgetown that Hersh had put the Times out on a limb. Ben Bradlee of the Washington Post had said, so the gossip went, that Sy's story was overwritten and under-researched."[16] Hersh's competitor on the intelligence beat at the Post, Laurence Stern, wrote an article on Hersh's stories for the Columbia Journalism Review under the condescending headline "Exposing the CIA (Again)." Stern criticized Hersh for the "dearth of hard facts" which "stood in sharp contrast to the article's page-one display." Furthermore, Stern wrote, Hersh had followed his initial story with a "remarkably febrile succession of follow-ups."[17] Stern's employer, the Post, editorialized that the Times had used too many anonymous sources -- a surprising charge from the newspaper that had relied on Deep Throat.[18]

Newsweek agreed that Hersh's stories were "sparse in detail" and quoted several sources scoffing at his revelations. "There's something to Hersh's charges, but a hell of a lot less than he makes of it," one source said.[19] Time magazine was the most blunt of Hersh's critics, saying "there is a strong likelihood that Hersh's CIA story is considerably exaggerated and that the Times overplayed it."[20] Time reassured its readers that many observers "who are far from naive about the CIA" nevertheless considered its officials "highly educated, sensitive and dedicated public servants who would scarcely let themselves get involved in the kind of massive scheme described."[21]

The anonymous intelligence sources quoted in Time, Newsweek, and the Post agreed that Hersh had probably exaggerated a simple "jurisdictional" problem between the CIA and FBI, with the CIA straying into a "gray area" in its charter when it was unable to cooperate with the FBI on counterintelligence. The Post's editorial board warned of confusing these jurisdictional problems with illegalities. Through the strategic placement of quotation marks, the Post questioned the credibility of Hersh's reports: "While almost any CIA activity can be fitted under the heading of 'spying,' and while CIA activities undertaken on American soil can be called 'domestic spying,' it remains to be determined which of these activities has been conducted in 'violation' of the agency's congressional charter or are 'illegal.'"[22]

Many observers were surprised by the Post's lethargic performance in pursuing the domestic spying scandal.[23] William Safire, a conservative New York Times columnist who had served in the Nixon administration, was appalled by the Post's lack of enterprise on the story. "With heavy heart," Safire wrote, the Post "trudges along after the New York Times on the CIA probe, reminding us constantly of the danger of doing damage to institutions in all this investigating of past abuses." With Nixon gone, Safire charged bitterly, the thrill was gone for the investigative journalists at the Post.[24]

Television coverage of the domestic spying charges also reflected skepticism of Hersh's stories and sympathy for the CIA. The "CBS Evening News," by far the most important news program of that era, emphasized denials by Agency officials and, at this early stage, did not encourage its own reporters to advance the story. Commentator Eric Sevareid, the CBS equivalent of an editorialist, tempered his call for an investigation of the Times charges with the observation that "old hands here" doubted that the CIA had ever threatened U.S. civil liberties.[25]

The consistent skepticism of his reporting by his peers cost Hersh a Pulitzer Prize. Conservative columnist John D. Lofton wrote that the Pulitzer jury had turned down the stories as "over-written, overplayed, under-researched and underproven."[26] But a month after he lost the Pulitzer, a presidential commission headed by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller substantially vindicated Hersh's reporting. Hersh had the last laugh on his critics. "I hope they're all eating crow tonight," he said on a national TV show after the release of the Rockefeller commission's report.[27]

Hersh, it seemed, had been accurate. But his stories had come at the wrong time. He had insisted on continuing Watergate-style muckraking into the post-Watergate era, while his colleagues wanted to stabilize national institutions and prove the "responsibility" of the press.

A second example of the post-Watergate media's reluctance to challenge the secret government came just a few months after the Hersh exposé. In early 1975, the Los Angeles Times learned of a top-secret mission linking the CIA and billionaire Howard Hughes. The Agency had agreed to pay Hughes an enormous amount of money, estimated between $350 million and $500 million, to construct a deep-sea salvage ship called the Glomar Explorer. The ship had a special purpose: to raise a sunken Soviet submarine from the floor of the Pacific Ocean. The diesel-powered sub, now fifteen years old, had exploded and sunk for unexplained reasons in 1968. The Soviets had been unable to recover it. The Agency, using Hughes's Summa Corporation as cover, was hoping to succeed where the Russians had failed. Disguised as a mining vessel, the ship had already made one unsuccessful attempt to raise the submarine. The crew did manage to recover one-third of the sub, but not the part containing code books or missiles.[28]

On Saturday morning, February 7, 1975, the first edition of the L.A. Times trumpeted the paper's scoop in a banner headline with four-inch letters: "U.S. Reported After Russ Sub." The story was wrong on several details, including the name of the ocean where the sub had sunk. Nevertheless, the CIA immediately swung into action. Before the papers had hit the street, an Agency official rushed over to the L.A. Times building to meet with editor William Thomas. The CIA argued that the project -- code named "Project Jennifer" -- was a continuing military operation; the Agency planned to try to raise the sub again sometime in the future. The official predicted "grave harm to national security" if the story continued to run.[29]

Thomas proved to be most receptive to national security arguments. Saying that he regretted printing the story at all, he dropped it to page 18 in subsequent editions and promised not to publish any future stories on the subject. The CIA official reported to Washington, "I do not doubt that Mr. Thomas is on our side and will do what ever [sic] he can, with this most unfortunate development."[30]

But the Agency could not suppress the story that easily. As a result of the L.A. Times story, Time, Newsweek, CBS, National Public Radio, Parade Magazine, and Seymour Hersh (who had dropped the story months earlier for lack of information) were trying to discover the truth about the submarine project. Colby, who somewhat unconvincingly maintained that the L.A. Times story had not destroyed the project's cover, frantically tried to keep the rest of the story from becoming public.

And the post-Watergate press, the institution credited with the downfall of President Nixon, the very people criticized by neoconservative intellectuals and others for practicing "advocacy journalism" and dealing cavalierly with national secrets, listened to the CIA Director. All of the editors approached by Colby agreed to suppress the story. At one point, when Colby received an alarming phone call from General Brent Scowcroft of the National Security Council about Hersh, Colby said, "I cannot believe his boss would let him run a story."[31] Post publisher Katharine Graham agreed with the CIA director that the sub project did not sound like "anything we would like to get into." Colby praised her restraint and patriotism, saying the self-censorship was "a great tribute to our journalists."[32]

A few individual journalists like Hersh questioned the wisdom of suppressing the story. The Soviets, after all, knew about the operation -- probably before the Los Angeles Times story, and certainly afterward.[33] The only interested parties who did not know about the project were the American people, who had spent $350 million -- more than President Ford had requested for aid to Cambodia as it fell to the Khmer Rouge -- on a failed project to recover old missiles and outdated codes. As Senator Frank Church later said, "If we are prepared to pay Howard Hughes $350 million for an obsolete Russian submarine, it's little wonder we are broke."[34]

But American newspaper bosses decided not to question the CIA's national security arguments. For his part, Colby was "totally surprised and pleased" by the media's self-censorship.[35] He had engineered "the weirdest conspiracy in town ... an American conspiracy."[36] The most interesting part of the affair, he thought, was "the way the American press showed its great responsibility."[37]

Indeed, "responsibility," not aggressiveness, was the watchword of the post-Watergate press in the case of Project Jennifer. Far from playing the mythic role popularly assigned to them after Nixon's fall, the nation's editors seemed terrified of the potential risks of defying the government. "I would just as soon not be in the position of getting credit" for releasing the sub story, one L.A. Times editor told Colby.[38]

It would take only one reporter to break Colby's carefully crafted news embargo, however. In mid-March, that reporter emerged. Jack Anderson, a Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative columnist, was not afraid to anger the government. He had been such an enemy of the Nixon White House that Nixon's plumbers had even discussed killing him.[39] He had also been one of the targets of the CIA domestic spying program exposed by Hersh -- a fact which, he joked, ensured that he led a virtuous life.[40]

Anderson learned of the Glomar project from an attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union, Charles Morgan, who was trying desperately to convince journalists to run it. Colby tried just as desperately to persuade Anderson to join the crowd of distinguished journalists who were suppressing the story. As Colby told Les Whitten, Anderson's associate, *"Everyone else is sitting on it. That is one of the most fascinating parts of it -- the whole press ... has been just splendid."* Whitten was not impressed. "We are all doing a half-assed job," he replied.[41] Anderson broke the story that evening in his radio broadcast.

As if to justify their long collaboration with the Agency, most of the press presented the sub story as a triumph for the national security establishment. According to the media, the project was a daring, high-tech success story that demonstrated just how competent the Agency could be.[42] The Post editorialized that the project showed the CIA "performing its prime function brilliantly."[43] The New York Times editorial board also used the adjective "brilliant" to describe the "complex and fascinating undersea adventure."[44] Time called Project Jennifer "the great submarine snatch" and characterized it as "a clean, highly creative enterprise that had served its purpose."[45] Newsweek declared that the besieged CIA "had shown it could take on a real-life Mission Impossible -- and make it nearly possible after all."[46] The

L.A. Times, invoking Jules Verne and Ian Fleming, proclaimed that "the feat must rank with the greatest exploits in the history of espionage."[47] There were a few critical notes in the press coverage: both Hersh's story for the Times and Anderson's column criticized the project as a $350 million boondoggle, a silly, expensive and dangerously provocative experiment that had predictably failed.[48] Daniel Schorr on CBS similarly described the project as an expensive failure that had produced a "meager payoff so far."[49] But the vast majority of the Project Jennifer coverage was overwhelmingly favorable.[50]

Once the dust had settled from the Glomar revelations, media critics began a fascinating process of self-examination as they attempted to understand the mass self-censorship in the wake of Watergate. Most of those who had joined the embargo defended their decision to do so. The Post, typically striking a note for "responsible" journalism after Nixon's fall, proclaimed in an editorial that its suppression of the Glomar story did not undercut its devotion to a free press. "On the contrary, a willingness to make such exceptions when confronted with compelling arguments from a government in exclusive possession of all the facts of the matter is a mark of a responsible free press," the paper intoned.[51] Time castigated the media for jeopardizing national security by writing about any CIA secrets; the continuing intelligence controversy, "of which Project Jennifer is only the latest fuel," could irreparably damage the Agency.[52] In a separate story, the magazine complimented the journalists who, like the Time editors, had correctly used "restraint" on the story.[53]

But Anderson charged that the post-Watergate press seemed more concerned with restoring its reputation for "responsibility" than with exposing government wrongdoing. "The old pre-Watergate, pre-Vietnam ideals of partnership with government, of cozy intimacy with the high and mighty," was beginning to appeal again "to a press concerned that its abrasive successes have earned it a bad name and a hostile reception," he wrote.[54] As a result, he told a reporter, journalists were trying too hard to prove "how patriotic and responsible we are, prove that we're not against the establishment, the government, that we're not all gadflys."[55] The post-Watergate press wanted to reassure the government and the public that the "fourth branch of government" would not disrupt the balance of power in Washington.

There were other cases of media self-censorship in these first post-Watergate years. In early 1975, for instance, the New York Times's editors learned of CIA assassination plots at a luncheon with President Ford, but decided not to write about the plots on the president's request. The story later leaked to CBS reporter Daniel Schorr.

A year later, Schorr was the main actor in another drama that demonstrated the perils of reporting aggressively on the CIA. He obtained the secret report of the House Select

Committee on Intelligence, which charged the intelligence community with gross incompetence, systemic flaws, and a lack of accountability.[56] When the House suppressed this explosive document, Schorr decided he had a duty to publish it. In response, not only the executive and legislative branches but also the "watchdog" press rushed to condemn him. Some of the editorials criticizing him were so vitriolic, a rare Schorr supporter noted, that they "read as if they had been written by former Vice President Agnew."[57] In the end, Schorr narrowly avoided a contempt charge from Congress. But he lost his job and saw his name vilified by his former colleagues.

By continuing to batter away at the nation's institutions after Nixon's departure, reporters like Schorr, Hersh, and Anderson had defied the government. But their colleagues' reaction to their stories indicates that they had also defied an important segment of the press. The post-Watergate media, far from seeking to engage the government in a mythic battle, worried about the consequences of continued attacks on the nation's institutions. Most editors and reporters repudiated the colleagues they perceived as too adversarial. In the area of national security reporting, at least, the image of the fearless, unrestrained, post-Watergate press is largely a myth.

NOTES

[1] See David A. Phillips, The Night Watch (New York: Atheneum, 1977), 291-92; William Colby with Peter Forbath, Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 12; Ray Cline, The CIA Under Reagan, Bush and Casey (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1981), passim; Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, The CIA and American Democracy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 199; and Ernest W. Lefever and Roy Godson, The CIA and the American Ethic: An Unfinished Debate (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center of Georgetown University, 1979), chapter 4.

[2] For Schudson's argument, see his Watergate in American Memory (New York: Basic Books, 1992), chapter 6; and Schudson, "Watergate: A Study in Mythology," Columbia Journalism Review, May/June 1992, 28-33.

[3] Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support: A Critique of the Thesis of an Oppositional Media," Journal of Politics 44 (February 1984): 2-24.

[4] The phrase "imperial media" comes from the title of Joseph Kraft's essay in Commentary 71 (May 1981): 36-47. Other examples of this thesis include Samuel P. Huntington, "The Democratic Distemper," Public Interest 41 (Fall 1975): 9-38; Huntington, American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Stanley Rothman, "The Mass Media in Post-Industrial America," in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., The Third Century (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1979); and Peter B. Clark, "The Opinion Machine: Intellectuals, the Mass Media, and American Government," in Harry M. Clor, ed., Mass Media and Modern Democracy (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974).

[5] Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Presidency and the Press," Commentary 51 (March 1971): 43, 52.

[6] Paul H. Weaver, "The New Journalism and the Old -- Thoughts after Watergate," Public Interest 35 (Spring 1974): 84-85.

[7] See Schudson, Watergate in American Memory, chapter 6; and Edward Jay Epstein, "How Press Handled Watergate Scandal," Editor & Publisher, 20 October 1973, 5.

[8] The Harris Survey Yearbook of Public Opinion, 1973 (New York: Louis Harris and Associates, 1976), 146.

[9] Quoted in Leonard Downie, Jr., The New Muckrakers (Washington, D.C. : New Republic Book Company, 1976), 234.

[10] "Covering Watergate: Success and Backlash," Time, 8 July 1974, 68.

[11] Quoted in Chalmers Roberts, In the Shadow of Power: The Story of the Washington Post (Cabin John, Md.: Seven Locks Press, 1989), 443.

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[12] William Greider, a former reporter for the *Post*, maintains that the paper took itself much more seriously after Nixon's resignation. "Watergate ... ironically, became the high-water mark for Bradlee's provocative form of newspapering -- the beginning of the *Post's* retreat to a safer tradition," he writes. Greider, *Who Will Tell the People: The Betrayal of American Democracy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 297.

[13] Interview, Ben Bradlee, 30 March 1992.

[14] Tom Wicker, *On Press* (New York: The Viking Press, 1978), 240.

[15] Seymour Hersh, "Huge CIA Operation Reported in U.S. against Antiwar Forces, Other Dissidents in Nixon Years," *New York Times*, 22 December 1974, 1.

[16] Harrison Salisbury, *Without Fear or Favor: The New York Times and Its Times* (New York: Times Books, 1980), 534. Bradlee denies this heatedly, saying that he always regarded Hersh's exposé as a "hell of a story." Interview, Ben Bradlee, 30 March 1992.

[17] Laurence Stern, "Exposing the CIA (Again)," *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1975, 55.

[18] "The CIA's 'Illegal Domestic Spying,'" *Washington Post*, 5 January 1975, B6.

[19] "A New CIA Furor," *Newsweek*, 6 January 1975, 10.

[20] "Supersnoop," *Time*, 6 January 1975, 65.

[21] "Rattling Skeletons in the CIA Closet," *Time*, 6 January 1975, 46.

[22] "The CIA's 'Illegal Domestic Spying,'" *Washington Post*.

[23] During the first six weeks after Hersh's stories appeared, the *Post*, the newspaper most identified with Watergate and the revival of adversarial journalism, ran only thirty-nine CIA-related stories to the *Times's* sixty-four. Moreover, the *Times* stories were generally longer, displayed more prominently, and echoed by hard-hitting editorials inside.

[24] William Safire, "The Thrill Is Gone," *New York Times*, 30 January 1975, 35.

[25] "CBS Evening News," 6 January 1975, Television News Archive, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

[26] Quoted in Anthony Lewis, "The Teller of Truth," *New York Times*, 10 July 1975, 29.

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[27] Transcript, "NPACT SPECIAL: The Rockefeller Commission Report on the CIA," 10 June 1975, series 7.9, box 4, folder 1, Frank Church Collection, Boise State University Library. For comparisons of Hersh's reporting with the Rockefeller Commission's findings, see Lewis, "The Teller of Truth;" and Morton Halperin, "Led Astray by the CIA," New Republic, 28 June 1975, 8-16.

[28] For more details on the project, see James Phelan, Howard Hughes: The Hidden Years (New York: Random House, 1976), 187-93; Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele, Empire: The Life, Legend and Madness of Howard Hughes (New York: Norton, 1979), 534-549; and Roy Varner and Wayne Collier, A Matter of Risk: The Incredible Inside Story of the CIA's *Hughes Glomar Explorer* Mission to Raise a Russian Submarine (New York: Random House, 1978).

[29] Telegram by unnamed CIA official, 7 February 1975. More than two hundred pages of documents regarding the CIA's attempt to suppress the Project Jennifer story were released as part of a 1977 Freedom of Information lawsuit by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Public Citizen Litigation Project.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Telephone conversation between Colby and Scowcroft, 21 February 1975.

[32] Telephone conversation between William Colby and Katharine Graham, 13 February 1975.

[33] Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, "Press Forgets Prime Responsibility," Washington Post, 25 March 1975, C21.

[34] Seymour Hersh, "3 Panels in Congress Plan Inquiries Into Sub Salvage," New York Times, 20 March 1975, 1.

[35] Telephone conversation between Colby and Les Whitten, 18 March 1975.

[36] Telephone conversation between Colby and Scowcroft, 14 March 1975.

[37] Telephone conversation between Colby and Carl Duckett, 13 March 1975. The stenographer indicates some uncertainty about whether Colby or Duckett spoke this particular line.

[38] Telephone conversation between Colby and Los Angeles Times editor, 27 February 1975.

[39] Bob Woodward, "Hunt Told Associates of Orders to Kill Jack Anderson," Washington Post, 21 September 1975, A1. See also Gordon Liddy, Will (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 207-210.

[40] Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, "Being Spied on Has Benefits of Sorts," Washington Post, 31 January 1975, E17.

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[41] Telephone conversation, 18 March 1975. Whitten is not identified in the transcript, but he was identified later by Howard Bray in The Pillars of the Post (New York: Norton, 1980), 153. Emphasis added.

[42] Of the twenty editorials surveyed by Editorials on File, only four were critical of Project Jennifer. Editorials on File 1975 (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1975), 311-317.

[43] "The Glomar Explorer," Washington Post, 23 March 1975, B6.

[44] "Project Jennifer," New York Times, 20 March 1975, 38.

[45] "The Great Submarine Snatch," Time, 31 March 1975, 27.

[46] "CIA's Mission Impossible," Newsweek, 31 March 1975, 32.

[47] "The Spies in the Deep," Los Angeles Times, 20 March 1975, part II, 6.

[48] Seymour Hersh, "CIA Salvage Ship Brought Up, Part of Soviet Sub Lost In 1968, Failed To Raise Atom Missiles," New York Times, 19 March 1975, 1; Anderson and Whitten, "Press Forgets Prime Responsibility."

[49] "CBS Evening News," 19 March 1975, Television News Archive, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

[50] In fact, some observers theorized that Colby, despite appearances to the contrary, had wanted to get the story out to give the Agency a public boost at the time of its greatest crisis. See "The Case of the Sunken Sub," Columbia Journalism Review, May/June 1975, 6; "Salvaging the Sub Story," Newsweek, 31 March 1975, 66. But the documents released in the 1977 Freedom of Information suit plainly show that this conspiracy theory is not true.

[51] "The Glomar Explorer," Washington Post. Emphasis added.

[52] "Shivering from Overexposure," Time, 31 March 1975, 27.

[53] "Show and Tell?" Time, 31 March 1975, 61.

[54] Anderson and Whitten, "Press Forgets Prime Responsibility."

[55] Stephen Isaacs, "Withholding of Story Defended," Washington Post, 20 March 1975, A14.

[56] For the complete text of the report, see CIA: The Pike Report (Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1977).

[57] The Boston Globe, 29 February 1976, in Editorials on File 1976, 305. Agnew, of course, was famous for his attacks on the press.

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FEMALE ARGUMENTS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE UTAH WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEBATES OF 1880 AND 1895 AS REPRESENTED IN UTAH WOMEN'S NEWSPAPERS

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May 1, 1993

FEMALE ARGUMENTS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE UTAH WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEBATES OF 1880 AND 1895 AS REPRESENTED IN THE UTAH WOMEN'S NEWSPAPERS

BY JANIKA ISAKSON

This paper attempts to define and examine the rhetorical techniques which Utah newspapers, especially those edited by women, used to overcome the paradox between polygamy and woman's suffrage. Women editors, so intrinsically involved in the woman's suffrage debates, offered their own answers to the pressing question, "How could what appeared to be the most liberal view of woman's rights--suffrage--and the most enslaving marital arrangement--polygamy--develop and coexist in the same environment?"

Jennie Anderson Froiseth, an Irish immigrant, married Bernard A.M. Froiseth, a surveyor and map maker assigned to work at Fort Douglas, Utah. In addition to editing the Anti-Polygamy Standard, she was actively involved in political issues and served as vice-president of the Women's National Anti-Polygamy Society. Froiseth also traveled around the country as a lecturer on the topic of polygamy and published many anti-polygamy and anti-Mormon literary works.

She appealed to her audience's sense of moral duty, whether male or female, Utahn or non-Utahn, Mormon or non-Mormon to take up the banner of anti-polygamy. Froiseth did this by equating respect for purity and virtue with the obliteration of polygamy.

Although the Woman's Exponent was not directly supported by the LDS church, the Church Relief Society President, Emmeline B. Wells edited the newspaper. She served as the vice-president of the National Women's Suffrage Association and regularly attended suffrage meetings all over the nation with Susan B. Anthony. Alongside local and national woman's suffrage information, the paper included news of ward socials, homemaking tips, and public affairs. Emmeline Wells and her editorial staff wrote for a generally homogeneous audience of LDS women who valued family, church, and country.

Both of these editors tried to persuade their audiences to feel it their religious, moral and patriotic duty to fight for the equality and advancement of all people. They wrote to specific audiences and used their finest rhetorical abilities in resolving the paradox of polygamy and woman's suffrage.

FEMALE ARGUMENTS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE UTAH WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEBATES OF 1880 AND 1895 AS REPRESENTED IN UTAH WOMEN'S NEWSPAPERS

Introduction

The fight for woman's suffrage in Utah was not an easy one. From the time the Utah Territorial Government first gave women the vote in 1871,[1] the issue of woman's rights in Utah received much attention from national women's organizations and both the Mormon and non-Mormon press. The Utah situation continued to demand attention with Congress' 1882 Edmunds Bill and the subsequent Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887. These congressional actions sought to disfranchised all Utah women and all men practicing polygamy. In 1895, Utahns debated over the hot issue of statehood and the inclusion of a woman's suffrage bill in the new state constitution. Due in part to the efforts of the Utah press and woman's rights activists, all Utahns gained the right to vote with statehood in 1896.

The volatile struggle between the opponents and proponents of woman's suffrage in Utah was often fought out on the editorial pages of various Utah newspapers. Not only was the struggle a political fight for enfranchisement, but it was also a deeply-rooted religious battle between the Mormons and Anti-Mormons.

Newspapers such as the LDS Relief Society newspaper, the Woman's Exponent, and the LDS Church-owned and edited newspaper, the Deseret News, as well as the National Woman's Suffrage Association advocated woman's suffrage in Utah. At the same time, such newspapers as the Anti-Polygamy Standard and the Salt Lake Tribune emerged with opposing voices to the Utah debate.

The issues involved in the debates were equality of the sexes, polygamy, politics and statehood. These hot topics demanded the most skillful and persuasive rhetoric that these newspapers could offer. In addition to converting the neutral masses to their ideologies, they also raised consciousness and reinforced new identities among those already involved in the movement. In looking at the newspapers of the times one sees that these participants in the woman's suffrage debate employed effective rhetorical techniques to promote their ideologies.

This paper attempts to define and examine the rhetorical techniques which Utah newspapers, especially those edited by women, used to resolve the paradox between polygamy and woman's suffrage. Women editors, so intrinsically involved in the woman's suffrage debates, offered their own answers to the pressing question, "How could what appeared to be the most liberal view of woman's rights--suffrage--and the most enslaving marital arrangement--polygamy--develop and coexist in the same environment?"[2]

Literature Review

The goal of this paper is to present a comparative rhetorical criticism of the Anti-Polygamy Standard and the Woman's Exponent, thus offering a new angle from which to view the paradox. The analyses made in this paper rely heavily on the writing and research that has already been conducted on woman's suffrage in Utah.

The works described below are only a small sampling of the significant information available on this topic. They are divided into the categories of, first, the press involvement and second, the history of the woman's suffrage movement in Utah.

Sherilyn Cox Bennion presents the efforts of women newspaper editors in bringing about woman's suffrage in her article, "Enterprising Ladies: Utah's Nineteenth Century Women Editors." Bennion's article in the Utah Historical Quarterly entitled "The Woman's Exponent: Forty-two Years of Speaking for Women," offers the history of the newspaper, explains its efforts in the area of woman's suffrage, and describes the characteristic attitudes of its writers and editor, Emmeline B. Wells.

In addition to these two articles, Lorenzo Jack offers insights into the antagonistic relationship between the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune in his master's thesis, Woman Suffrage in Utah as an Issue in the Mormon and Non-Mormon Press. This thesis provides many statistics and interpretations of data that prove helpful in describing the context of the movement.

Beverly Beeton's book, Woman Suffrage in the American West covers the historical background of the woman's suffrage movement in Utah in great detail. It is a valuable historical account of Utah's experience in relation to its other western neighbors. An article written by Jean Bickmore White, "Woman's Place is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," recounts the political struggles Utah women experienced on a national level.

Along with secondary sources, original documents such as the Woman's Exponent, the Deseret News, the Salt Lake Tribune, the Anti-Polygamy News, and the Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Utah Legislative Assembly provide invaluable information.

Methodology

By comparing and contrasting the efforts of both sides to persuade their audiences, I will analyze the rhetorical devices used by both proponents and opponents in the newspapers during the Utah woman's suffrage debates. In order to understand the arguments given by the opponents and proponents, I will combine historical background with the analysis of various rhetorical devices.

The body of the paper will include a study of the major newspapers (both opponents and proponents) involved in the woman's suffrage movement in Utah. The Woman's Exponent and the Anti-Polygamy Standard will be analyzed for their rhetorical devices, purposes, audiences, and their effectiveness.

I wish to focus on the arguments of the women editors involved in the debates and so coverage of the Salt Lake Tribune and the national woman's suffrage movement will be limited in this paper. In-depth coverage of all of the individuals involved in the movement will be limited to a few key people such as Emmeline B. Wells, Wilford Woodruff, B.H. Roberts, William S.

Godbe and Jennie Anderson Froiseth.

Because the Anti-Polygamy Standard was only published for three years it would not be fair to compare its entire editorial contents with that of the forty-four year publication of the Woman's Exponent. In an attempt to analyze and compare the relative rhetorical devices, only one critical year from each newspaper will be analyzed.

The coverage of the Anti-Polygamy Standard will focus on the year 1880, when it argued that Utah women should be disfranchised. On the other hand, the Woman's Exponent coverage will deal with the year 1895, when the editors argued that Utah women should be enfranchised. Both of these years presented great obstacles for each respective newspaper; thus, their rhetorical devices were at their finest.

The conclusion will compare and contrast the rhetorical techniques, audiences, effectiveness of efforts and perceived gains of both sides. It will also include a general summary of the points made in the paper and reinforce the thesis that both sides engaged in effective propaganda in resolving the "paradox of Utah."

The Paradox

In order to understand the complexity of the situation in Utah regarding woman's suffrage, one must be familiar with the situation and its effect on the Utah paradox. One writer of the day characterized the situation thus: "Polygamy is utterly and entirely opposite to equality, for how can equality exist where mutual confidence is impossible between husband and wife?"[3] For this writer, polygamy and equality were incompatible. The issue of woman's suffrage in Utah presents an interesting paradox to researchers of today as well as those who were experiencing it first hand.

It seems from the outset that such a liberal cause as woman suffrage would actually destroy polygamy,[4] yet in the case of Utah, polygamy and the woman's suffrage movement succeeded in coexistence until at least 1890 when Wilford Woodruff, president of the LDS Church declared in his Manifesto that polygamy was no longer an accepted way of life for members of the Church.

Beverly Beeton, a modern expert on the woman's suffrage situation in Utah asks these questions about the Utah suffragists: "Were they downtrodden slaves of a religious oligarchy? Were they free thinking feminists? Or were they something in between?"[5] It was a complete paradox to many observers that the seemingly enslaving practice of polygamy could coexist with the liberal and progressive action towards woman suffrage. Edward Tullidge, a contributing writer to the Phrenological Journal, commented in 1870:

> Utah is the land of marvels. She gives us, first, polygamy, which seems to be an outrage against "woman's rights," and then offers to the nation a "Female Suffrage Bill". . . . Was there ever a greater anomaly known in the history of society?[6]

The Woman's Exponent, written and edited by women of the LDS Church, represented the anomaly that Tullidge wrote of. In its editorial stance, the Woman's Exponent embraced the seemingly oppressive practice of polygamy as an integral part of the LDS religion, yet it also aligned itself with the reform-oriented National Woman's Suffrage Association.

The Anti-Polygamy Standard, written and edited by women who held strong anti-polygamy sentiments, also represented the Utah paradox. It proclaimed that polygamy was evil and only kept women inferior to men, yet the editors consistently mocked efforts of Utah women to gain the vote. The editors, like those from the Woman's Exponent, also affiliated themselves with a woman's organization, the Women's National Anti-Polygamy Society.[7] It is interesting to note that both sides belonged to such reform-minded organizations with aims of elevating the status of women.

Ironically enough, both of these newspapers, whose stated purposes included raising the level of women in their society, advocated different methods of attaining similar goals. The women editors were trying to clear up the paradox that existed in Utah for their readers, but they exemplified the very paradox that they were trying to explain.

Opponent of Woman's Suffrage--The Anti-Polygamy Standard

From 1880-1883, the Anti-Polygamy Standard and its editor Jennie Anderson Froiseth represented the woman's voice in strong opposition to woman's suffrage and polygamy in Utah. In addition to opposing polygamy and suffrage in its pages, the Anti-Polygamy Standard included news, mining information, household tips and exposes of polygamy.[8]

The Anti-Polygamy Standard was started by Froiseth in 1880 as a voice against polygamy, yet in later editions she used it as a tool against woman's suffrage in Utah. She wrote in an editorial that she felt only "kindness and good will toward Mormon women," although wanted to destroy the system in which they were held captive.[9] In the prospectus of the newspaper she emphasized the religious duty of all readers to do away polygamy, the "system which had its origin in sin." She also appealed to her reader's sense of freedom and humanity in stating the purpose of beginning the newspaper.

> It [The Anti-Polygamy Standard] is issued in the interests of the Ladies' Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah . . . to plan and execute such measures as to suppress a system which had its origin in sin, and which is as inimical to progress and true humanity as it is enslaving and dishonoring to womanhood.[10]

Froiseth, an Irish immigrant, married Bernard A.M. Froiseth, a surveyor and map maker assigned to work at Fort Douglas, Utah. She was actively involved in political issues and served as vice-president of the Women's National Anti-Polygamy Society. Froiseth also traveled around the country as a lecturer on the topic of polygamy and published many anti-polygamy and anti-Mormon literary works.[11]

She appealed to her audience's sense of moral duty, whether male or female, Utahn or non-Utahn, Mormon or non-Mormon to take up the banner of anti-polygamy.[12] Froiseth did this by equating respect for purity and virtue with the obliteration of polygamy.

She proclaimed in the first issue:

> We believe that the importance of our object [the destruction of polygamy] will be appreciated by every man in the country who respects purity and virtue and honors womanhood, and by every woman who would resent the profanation of her own womanhood, and would preserve her innocent sons and daughters from corruption.[13]

Froiseth recognized the existence of an audience ready to accept her newspaper and saw the need for an opposing voice in the predominantly LDS community. This may have accounted for her scathing portrayal of the LDS priesthood. She portrayed the priesthood brethren as forcing the downtrodden LDS women to vote according to the priesthood's evil political agendas. In the following quotation she describes Mormon women as completely submissive and afraid to stand up for their own beliefs.

> If it were suspected that a Mormon woman would not do as she was told, she would first be labored with, and if she still evinced an unwillingness to obey counsel, she would not be allowed to approach the polls.[14]

Emmeline Wells, in an editorial in the Woman's Exponent, voiced her discontent with Froiseth's views such as those expressed above. She writes: "We have grown tired . . . of being classed with idiots, lunatics, and criminals."[15] She argued that Utah Mormon women had the right and responsibility to practice their practice their religion and take part in community affairs.

The editors of the Salt Lake Tribune, as well as Froiseth feared that the Mormons were simply trying to maintain power in the State of Utah by allowing women to vote. Froiseth hoped that the Utah women would take advantage of their opportunity and vote polygamy into oblivion. In a later edition she displayed her disappointment by writing that the women of Utah were simply, "driven to the polls like sheep by the whip of [their] masters," and "[they] ought to rise and defeat the re-election of the man [a polygamist] who has made your wifehood a badge of shame and dishonor."[16]

Froiseth commonly stated that she was not in favor of the woman's suffrage movement, or at least not the paradoxical Utah variety. She did, however concede in one article that she could find some value in the movement because it, "gives a great many women, whose time would otherwise be idle, something interesting to think and talk about."[17]

Representing the views that many opponents of woman's suffrage held, including the Anti-Polygamy Standard, one writer, Erna Von R. Owen, described the Utah woman's suffrage debate as a farce. In an article in Harper's Weekly published in 1914, Owen took a retrospective view of woman's suffrage in Utah. She argued, "suffrage was given the women of Utah as a political measure to strengthen the position of the Mormon Church."[18]

Wilford Woodruff, President of the LDS Church, declared that similar opinions from the newspapers Anti-Polygamy Standard and the Salt Lake Tribune regarding the LDS Church and the woman's suffrage movement were unfounded and biased. He felt that the opposition simply did not understand the LDS position on the suffrage issue and would go to any means to harm the Church and its members.

> There is a deep-laid scheme to deprive the Mormon people of all political rights. . . . By misrepresentation and taking advantage of popular prejudice against the Mormons, founded chiefly in ignorance, they succeeded in securing the disenfranchisement of the older settlers who made the country and then of all the women. They want every Mormon deprived of the vote, no matter how good and law-abiding he might be.[19]

The opposition that President Woodruff referred to consisted in part of William S. Godbe's Salt Lake Tribune, an early supporter of the Anti-Polygamy Standard. It was founded in 1870 as the result of Godbe's apostasy from the LDS Church and his desire to present another editorial voice in Utah.[20] Godbe's newspaper briefly supported woman's suffrage in its earliest stages as a means for Utah women to break free from the enslaving chains of polygamy.

Yet, once the Tribune editors realized that the Mormons simply doubled their voting power by enfranchising the women, they violently opposed woman's suffrage. In fact, one scholar Ralph Lorenzo Jack, writes, "The Tribune was a radical and free-wheeling type of journal, often attacking woman suffrage with more vigor than considered judgement would warrant."[21] Although quite liberal in its general editorial stance, it argued fiercely against the seemingly liberal cause of woman's suffrage in Utah. The editors feared that Utah politics would be completely overrun by the LDS Church if woman's suffrage remained a reality in Utah.

So, too, did Jennie Froiseth's Anti-Polygamy Standard fight against woman's suffrage, a cause that under normal conditions, it would have supported. This newspaper and Utah's Liberal

Party, with which the paper aligned itself, worked hard in 1880 to disfranchise the women of the Territory. They hoped to create enough antagonism in the public that court action against suffrage would be taken.[22]

Proponent of Woman's Suffrage--The Woman's Exponent

The Women's Exponent was intended from its beginning in 1872 to be a newspaper written to provide information about and for Latter-day Saint women, most of which were involved in the Church's women's service organization, the Relief Society. The prospectus stated that the monthly paper would "discuss every subject interesting and valuable to women, . . . defend the right, inculcate sound principles and disseminate useful knowledge."[23]

In addition to providing information for Mormon women, it also gave these women a voice. In an 1880 edition of the newspaper Emmeline Wells writes: "Through its columns the sisters . . . have spoken to the world, as they could not have in any other way, . . . giving evidence of their liberty of thought and action, and their religious sincerity."[24]

Although the Woman's Exponent was not an official publication of the LDS church, it was edited by Emmeline B. Wells, the Church Relief Society President. In addition to her church assignment, she served as the vice-president of the National Women's Suffrage Association and regularly attended suffrage meetings all over the nation with Susan B. Anthony.[25]

Alongside local and national woman's suffrage information, the paper included news of ward socials, homemaking tips, and public affairs.

Emmeline Wells and her editorial staff wrote for a generally homogeneous audience of LDS women who valued family, church, and country. These writers tried to persuade these women to feel it their religious, moral and patriotic duty to fight for the equality of all people. The women of the Church were encouraged by church leaders to be "anxiously engaged in a good cause," and to be an influence for good in their communities.

Early on in the suffrage debate, religious leaders such as Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff and Orson Whitney supported the editors of Woman's Exponent in their "good cause" of woman's suffrage. This support allowed the newspaper to focus most of its efforts against anti-Mormon and anti-suffrage opponents.

The year 1895 presented great challenges to the woman's suffrage activists in Utah. In the Woman's Exponent October 15, 1895, Emmeline B. Wells wrote to persuade her audience to become more active in the political process of the day. In this article she appealed to the audience's sense of patriotism and desire to be "good" citizens.

Wells credited women with holding the highest moral and ethical judgement in the community. With this high status, Wells felt it would be a heinous crime not allow woman's involvement in politics. Wells wrote in the October 15, 1895 edition:

It cannot be but productive of good and it is a hopeful

> outlook for any community when women, the mothers and wives lay hold of the grave questions of the state, that agitate the public mind and assist intelligently to better the conditions of living according to their best thought and high sense of honor.[26]

This statement was made in a speech addressing the topic of Utah's upcoming statehood and the probability of women becoming full-fledged citizens with the men. Wells expressed the view that the purpose of her work in behalf of woman's suffrage was to help women prepare themselves for "the actual duties and responsibilities of citizenship."[27]

She also made it clear that her efforts on behalf of woman's suffrage were not only for the women of her day, but also for women in generations to come. Wells stated that she expected her work to provide posterity a way to "make it possible for equality in government to be the rule and not the exception."

Along with presenting general woman's suffrage issues, the newspaper was also actively involved in presenting political issues. One of these issues was the inclusion of a woman's suffrage bill in the new state constitution of Utah. In the April 1, 1895, edition, the editorial board wrote of its approval of the new proposal for submission. According to the article the new proposal stated:

> Resolved that the rights of citizens of the state of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied, or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this state shall equally enjoy all privileges.[28]

In this same article the editors disputed an allegedly "weak and flimsy" argument made by the "minority" that Utah "women were too good to vote. . . .and their generosity and religious convictions might make it dangerous."[29] The editors then went on to comment that they thought it pitiful that men try to make women think they "worship them and think them far too good" to be involved with political affairs.

Wells contended that many men believed in the false claim that the laws prohibiting woman's suffrage actually protected women from losing their femininity. Wells then stated that, "all this suspicious reasoning does not change the stubborn facts that still remain, and of which some women at least are well informed."[30]

In an earlier edition of the newspaper Wells declared that Utah with its moral advantages and young population should be in the forefront of making political equality a reality. To her there was no paradox of values--to grant freedom and enfranchisement was a moral and patriotic duty for every member of the Church.

> If the men of Utah do this simple act of justice knowing as most of them must know that it is the right and proper thing to do having the courage of their convictions, the coming generations will look back with pride upon their record, for the trend of all education and sentiment is towards political equality, and it is bound to come, therefore, why not Utah be among the progressive communities where she should be?[31]

The women of Utah were in a peculiar position in 1895: their fate was completely in the hands of the men. The Territory first granted women the vote in 1870, yet it was taken away in 1887 by the Edmunds-Tucker Act of Congress. The women of Utah, or at least the editors of the Woman's Exponent, had the taste of enfranchisement on their tongues and they were prepared to use all of their rhetorical powers to gain the vote once again.

Because of Emmeline B. Well's involvement with the local and national woman's suffrage movement, the editorial pages closely followed the progress of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The Woman's Exponent regularly made mention of Susan B. Anthony as a proponent of woman's suffrage in Utah and highlighted her work with the National Woman's Suffrage Association. The editors relied on Anthony as an example in woman's suffrage issues, as shown by the article entitled, "Miss Anthony and Party," in the April 1, 1895, edition. They wrote:

> We need Miss Anthony now more than ever, we are in a state of transition as it were and such power and eloquence, such wit and wisdom as she possesses in great abundance will help Utah women to [be] more strong, emphasize the platform of equal rights, and to appreciate the new conditions which will come to them with an increased responsibility. . . .[32]

Although opposed to the practice of polygamy, the leaders of the national movement stated, "We are not battling for religions, but for political rights. . . .freedom is one and the same the world over, irrespective of religious beliefs."[33]

Leaders of the national movement, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, first took interest in Utah's woman's suffrage movement in 1871 after Utah's Territorial Government enfranchised women.[34] This support surely existed because the Utah Territorial Government was the second, after Wyoming, to grant women the vote in 1870.[35] The Salt Lake Tribune in its editorial column commented on the prospective influence of Anthony, Stanton, and others in Utah's anticipated statehood.

> There is. . . a class who, if possible, will handmaid our State into existence . . .namely that of the 'woman's rights' women led by such innovative spirits as Victoria Woodhull, Mrs. Tracy Cutler, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. These have all their peculiar social and political schemes, such as female suffrage, the reconstruction of the relations between the sexes and the general remolding of society.[36]

Yet no matter which famous national woman's suffrage leaders supported them or how many women of Utah were on the side of woman's suffrage, the final decision was left up to the men of the Utah Constitutional Convention. In this situation their persuasive efforts then went to their faithful readers' husbands, the men of the Constitutional Convention.

The editors appealed to the men's sense of integrity ("defying the injustice and prejudice of the past . . .") and their patriotic desires ("the time clock of American destiny. . .to inaugurate a larger and truer civil life"). They expressed their trust and faith in the men to include the equality of all sexes under the law. Combining the rhetorical elements of ethical persuasion and a plea to social responsibility, the Woman's Exponent wrote to the men of Utah:

> We believe that now the time clock of American destiny has struck the hour to inaugurate a larger and truer civil life, and that the future writers of Utah history will immortalize the names of those men who, in this Constitutional Convention, defying the injustice and prejudice of the past, strike off the bonds that have heretofore enthralled woman, and open the doors that will usher her into free and full emancipation.[37]

The editors also report in this article that a plea was made to these men to "provide in the Constitution that the rights of citizens of the State of Utah not be denied or abridged on account of their sex."[38] They emphasized their expectation that these men were, "dealing honestly and righteously with [them], and by doing so were elevating the status of all of humanity, not just women."[39]

B.H. Roberts, a member of the Constitutional Convention and opponent of woman's suffrage,[40] recognized the work of Emmeline Wells and other suffragists in bringing about reform. He acknowledged women's desire to have the vote, yet felt no desire to support a woman's suffrage measure. He stated in his autobiography:

> The trouble really arose over the idea that the question of woman suffrage had been canvassed in Utah many years before [the Constitutional Convention] and that the women of the state were exceedingly anxious for this so-called "reform" in the electorate of the state.[41]

Roberts, although not opposed to the basic principles of the woman's suffrage movement, argued that it was not prudent to enfranchise the women of Utah in the state constitution. Although most of the men in the Convention were in favor of including the woman's suffrage bill, Roberts felt he should go against the crowd and bring up an opposing opinion.[42]

Roberts worried that the constitution would not pass in Washington, that the woman's suffrage movement did not have sufficient merit, and that suffrage would degrade woman. He comments that,

It was I who called up the possibility of the constitution

> being defeated at Washington if the suffrage clause was inserted in the Constitution. . . . having noted that President Cleveland was opposed to woman suffrage.[43]

Even though the editors of the Woman's Exponent were not even supported in their cause by the President of the United States, they still remained strong and waited for the day when suffrage would be granted them.

Conclusion

The Anti-Polygamy Standard and the Woman's Exponent overcame the paradoxical nature of Utah's political and religious situation to present coherent and effective arguments for their cause. In both of these years (1880 and 1895) the respective newspapers fought most vehemently for the issues that first provoked the emergence of their newspapers: anti-polygamy and woman's suffrage.

In 1882 the women of Utah first received the blow of the Edmunds Act that sought to disfranchise them. The editors of the Anti-Polygamy Standard certainly acknowledged this event as a victory and a direct result of their persuasive attempts. Shortly after the Edmunds Act was passed, the Salt Lake Tribune stated that the Act was a "real triumph at last, the first real triumph in a contest which has raged for twenty years."[44]

Comparatively, 1896, the year after the Utah Constitutional Convention, was also seen as a victory, but for very different reasons. The Woman's Exponent celebrated the newly won woman's suffrage and Utah statehood, whereas in 1882 the Anti-Polygamy

Standard celebrated disfranchisement. The Woman's Exponent utilized its finest rhetorical skills in the constitutional debates, and surely felt proud to have influenced the decision makers.

Both of these newspapers had well-defined audiences that were interested in the specific topics they discussed. With such specialized audiences they clearly had an increased ability to persuade their readers to their points of view. Both newspapers actively sought to persuade their neutral readers to get involved in the debates, and encouraged their "converted" readers to maintain reform-minded identities.

Religious and ethical arguments were used by both newspapers to support their cause with an added emphasis of complimenting their readers as moral and religious people. Rather than focusing on the logical elements of the arguments they tended to focus on the emotional pleas and heart-felt issues of home, family, and humanity.

Most Latter-day Saints, as shown by Emmeline B. Wells, did not see a conflict between polygamy and woman's suffrage. Polygamy was simply a manifestation of their faith and devotion to their religion. Woman's suffrage was seen as a political right, patriotic duty, and as a positive influence in increasing Utah's chances for statehood. If leaders of the LDS Church had seen a conflict between these two forces, woman's suffrage would not have been advocated in the Woman's Exponent. If the leaders had seen woman's suffrage as a serious threat to their cause, it would have been stopped early in its development.

In conclusion, the question still remains: How could polygamy and woman's suffrage coexist in the same environment? The perspective of the LDS population was obviously different than the non-LDS population. Latter-day Saints did not think women suffrage rights would threaten polygamy or the basic foundations of their religion. Pragmatically, the leaders of the LDS church realized that granting Utah women the right to vote would help them achieve statehood, despite B.H. Roberts' belief that women should not receive the vote.

In general, the leaders of the national woman's suffrage movement supported the Utah suffrage movement in spite of what they saw as the sexist and enslaving practice of polygamy. They saw value in supporting any group of women who wanted the vote no matter what their religious beliefs. The paradox existing in the Utah woman's suffrage movement was further complicated by the anti-Mormons, who under normal conditions would have supported the liberal cause. They fought against woman's suffrage, in part, because of their hatred for the LDS Church.

The opposing views presented in this examination of Utah's suffrage experiment show the great conflict that existed between foes and friends of the Utah suffrage movement. In the end, much of the conflict between Utah's Mormon and non-Mormon elements ceased when Wilford Woodruff's 1890 Manifesto barred polygamy in Utah. The fiery debates were further extinguished when Utah gained statehood in 1896 and the progressive Utah Constitution of

1896 granted suffrage to all citizens of Utah.

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34. Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, 2.

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Back Channel: What Readers Learned of the *Tri-City Herald's* Lobbying for the Hanford Nuclear Reservation

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Submitted to

American Journalism Historians Association

May 1, 1993

Back Channel: What Readers Learned of the *Tri-City Herald's* Lobbying for the Hanford Nuclear Reservation

Abstract

A small newspaper's community leadership has frequently been practiced not by a watchdog editorial product, but by joining forces with business leaders in initiating projects for community growth.

It could be anticipated, therefore, that this would be true in the Columbia River communities in Washington state adjacent to the Hanford nuclear reservation where the publisher helped form the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council to promote community growth and Hanford development.

This study examined all memorandums the publisher, Glenn Lee, wrote between 1969 and 1971 on Hanford, and compared them to what his newspaper published about this activity, most involving public office holders.

The comparison shows that while some activity was reflected in print, much was not, including not only that of Washington's governor and Congressional delegation, but the publisher's access to the White House and Executive Branch offices. Even if the industrial council's activities were not covered, what these public officials did should have been.

This study suggests that First Amendment criteria, the ethics of conflicts of interest, and editors in power structures should not be separate strands of analysis. A synthesis of these factors with community and newspaper economics will be needed to assess fully a newspaper's performance.

Back Channel: What Readers Learned of the *Tri-City Herald's* Lobbying for the Hanford Nuclear Reservation

As had thousands of his predecessors, Glenn Lee as a daily newspaper publisher faced the task of balancing community promotion with objective news coverage. To paraphrase one definition of these roles, Lee had to decide whether he would be a community publisher or a journalist publisher.[1]

Significance of Lee's task, however, is in one sense national in scope; his communities were adjacent to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in the state of Washington. Even if he were expected to be both a booster and watchdog at home, the nation expected him, implicitly through his Associated Press membership, to inform it objectively of what the federal government and its contractors were doing at the site where the plutonium for the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs was processed.[2] An author who recently joined the study of the Atomic West gives low marks in her

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The author expresses appreciation to research assistant Paul Schlienz for his assistance in preparation of this article and to the Glenn Lee estate for the grant that made his cataloging of the personal papers possible.

[1] The terms "community editor" and "journalist editor" were used in Alex Edelstein and Joseph J. Contris, "The Public View of the Weekly Newspaper's Leadership Role," *Journalism Quarterly*, 43 (Spring, 1966), p. 18.

[2] The Associated Press depended on member newspapers for news of this area until the late 1980s, when it assigned its first full-time staff member to Central Washington. Yet Jack Briggs, publisher today of the *Tri-City Herald*, remembers with frustration the failure of the AP until the mid-1970s to take an interest in the Hanford stories the newspaper filed. Telephone interview, April 20, 1993.

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brief assessment of Lee's *Tri-City Herald*.[3] She says that while the newspaper criticized the Atomic Energy Commission for not providing more financial assistance for local government services, it never questioned the basic commission policy of "pushing plutonium production to the maximum" at Hanford.[4]

Lee's personal papers are now in the public domain and can be examined to determine the congruence between what he knew and did as publisher and secretary of the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council, and what his newspaper reported about Hanford.[5] Specifically, these personal papers contain scores of memos he wrote for file purposes or to his staff, or received from his newsroom employees. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine the newspaper's coverage in light of selected memos to determine the extent the newspaper informed the public of the publisher's contacts with public officials as secretary of the industrial council, a community trade and lobbying group.

The dates of 1969-1971 are selected from the decades of memos in the collection for this initial study of the Lee papers because they fall within the period of intense

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[3] The term Tri-Cities refers to the Columbia River communities of Pasco, Richland, and Kennewick adjacent to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation.

[4] Michele Stenehjem Gerber, *On the Home Front: The Cold War Legacy of the Hanford Nuclear Site* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 70.

[5] The Glenn Lee collection of papers was donated to the Washington State University Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections division in 1984. Cataloguing of the material was completed in 1993.

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activity by the industrial council and the newspaper to offset the reactor closures initiated by President Johnson in 1964. The closures continued until 1971, by which time all eight of the open coolant reactors at Hanford were closed.[6] Both Lee's newspaper and the council, confronted with such dire economic news, rushed to offset the effects on Hanford's work force, which numbered between 8,000 and 9,000 persons in the 1960s.

The households of these employees made up a goodly number of the 25,000 circulation base of the *Tri-City Herald* in 1970 and the significant portion of the local economy.[7] A small newspaper's community leadership has frequently been practiced not by a watchdog editorial product, but by joining forces with business leaders in initiating projects for community growth.[8] It is anticipated, therefore, that Lee's newsroom memos will document the indiscriminate booster nature of his community and journalistic activities.[9]

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[6] Gerber, *On the Home Front*, p. 140.

[7] The daily circulation of the *Tri-City Herald* in 1970 was 24,414 and 24,830 Sundays, according to *1970 Editor & Publisher International Yearbook* (New York: The Editor & Publisher Co., 1970), p. 287.

[8] This activity is recognized in George A. Gladney, "Newspaper Excellence: How Editors of Small & Large Papers Judge Quality," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1990), p. 62.

[9] The booster nature of community leadership is further discussed in Gladney, "Newspaper Excellence," p. 71.

Glenn Lee's tenacious personality might have been devoted to the business of flour milling if an opportunity had materialized in that trade in 1947.[10] But with partners Hugh Scott and Robert E. Philip, the World War II veteran bought the weekly *Pasco Herald* that year, transforming it into a daily within months.[11] The newspaper experience of this native of Eau Clair, Wisconsin, and graduate of the University of North Dakota was limited to delivering copies in his home town.[12]

Two major challenges to the new owners arose quickly. A major cutback at the Hanford nuclear facility was instituted in 1949, with 10,000 employees laid off.[13] Local leaders and officials of the Atomic Energy Commission and its Hanford contractor, the General Electric Company, realized the problems of a single industry community in which production of plutonium for weapons would not continue indefinitely.[14] The second challenge came when the International Typographical Union struck the *Tri-City Herald* in 1950, and then supported a competing daily newspaper, *The Columbia Basin News*, until 1962.[15]

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[10] Lee's obituary recognized an "embattled career" and cited him as a man of "extraordinary energy, determination and impact. . .a driven worker." Bob Woehler and Wanda Briggs, "Glenn Lee: A builder, a leader, and a doer," *Tri-City Herald*, August 9, 1985, p. A4.

[11] Frances Taylor Pugnetti, *Tiger by the Tail: Twenty-five Years With the Stormy Tri-City Herald* (Pasco, Washington: Tri-City Herald, 1975), pp. 7, 25.

[12] Maryfran Johnson and Gale Metcalf, "A road from 3c a week to publisher and leader; Hotels, Navy and flour mills led Glenn Lee to Tri-Cities," *Tri-City Herald*, August 9, 1985, p. A5.

[13] Ibid., p. 46.

[14] Christian Calmeyer Fleischer, "The Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council and the Economic Diversification of the Tri-Cities, Washington, 1963-1974," unpublished master's thesis, Washington State University, 1974, p. 21.

Lee took his case charging the *News* with violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to the U.S. Supreme Court, but won no hearing.[16] However, he continually won informal hearings in Washington, D.C., before the state's Congressional delegations and the Atomic Energy Commission as he, other officials of the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council, and his editor, Don Pugnetti, all lobbied for stability or expansion of the Hanford nuclear reservation.

An illustration of Lee's activities, even before the cities' industrial council was formed, came in the newspaper's campaign to maintain the dual function of Hanford's ninth nuclear reactor, with construction underway in 1958. Promoters sought to have waste steam sold to the Washington Public Power Supply System, which would generate electricity to be marketed by the Bonneville Power Administration, a move private power interests fought before losing in Congress in 1962. Lee, an erstwhile private power advocate, made two trips to the capital that summer and Pugnetti three to convince a core of 38 Republican representatives to support the dual reactor. Both men successfully lobbied senators, Northwest governors, and the

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[15] Pugnetti, *Tiger by the Tail*, pp. 147-253.

[16] Ibid., p. 253.

Washington [D.C.] *Evening Star* as well.[17]

Tri-City civic leaders, a drum and bugle corps, and a color guard were on hand at the Pasco Airport to honor Lee and Pugnetti upon their return. In the spring of 1963, Pugnetti was named winner of the Thomas L. Stokes Memorial Award for his articles and editorials concerning the steam plant fight.[18] The contest judges wrote, "Pugnetti acted in the best tradition of Tom Stokes . . . so, too, did his paper and its publisher, Glenn C. Lee, and we commend them."[19] The award--and the column inches upon which it was based--is evidence that even while active as a lobbyist, Pugnetti carried out his role as editor of the *Tri-City Herald*, a factor pertinent to this study.

In September of 1963, President John Kennedy traveled to the Tri-Cities to wave a "nuclear wand" that by remote control lifted the first shovel of dirt to start construction of the Hanford steam plant, undoubtedly grateful for the legislative victory the Tri-City newspaper men had helped to give him the previous year.[20]

This campaign demonstrated the pattern for the activism of Lee, as a founding member and secretary of the Tri-City Nuclear Council, and of Pugnetti, as founder and president of the Benton-Franklin Counties Good Roads Association. In these capacities they returned to Washington, D.C., to lobby successfully in behalf of a Tri-Cities route for the north-south Interstate 82, originally designed for an alignment into Oregon to the west.21

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[17] Ibid., pp. 254-283.

[18] Stokes was a nationally syndicated columnist noted for his writing on the development, use, and conservation of natural resources. Pugnetti, *Tiger by the Tail*, pp. 281-282.

[19] Ibid., p. 282.

[20] Ibid., pp. 256, 282-283.

A third figure in the newspaper, *Tri-City Herald* president Robert E. Philip, was equally as active in community economic development. With community leader Sam Volpentest, he organized Exo-Met as a locally owned and capitalized corporation and proposed to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1962 that the firm take over the operation of Hanford's metal fabrication shops. The AEC rejected the proposal, but the step demonstrated the community's initiative in attempting to diversify the economy and end dependence upon the government's primary contractor, General Electric. Two years later, the AEC opened the Hanford contract to other firms to achieve these goals.22

By that time, the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council was formed, incorporating in February, 1963, with Philip as president and Lee as secretary among the 85 supporters who contributed $40,000 for the first year's operation.23

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[21] Ibid., p. 325. In a personal letter to a Washington state district highway engineer, Pugnetti is identified as president of the Benton-Franklin Counties Good Roads Association, both by signature and on the letterhead. Donald A. Pugnetti to G. E. Mattoon, February 15, 1967. Glenn Lee papers, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections Division of Holland Library, Washington State University, Pullman.

[22] Fleischer, "The Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council," pp. 28-30.

[23] Pugnetti, *Tiger by the Tail*, p. 294.

Effects of President Johnson's State of the Union message on January 8, 1964, posed the first major challenge to the council. With the nation's stockpiles of nuclear materials at the saturation point, the President expressed his desire to curb the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Therefore, he announced a 25 per cent reduction in the production of enriched uranium and the closure of four reactors, including three at Hanford.[24] AEC Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg the same day said the decision would not affect startup of Hanford's New Production Reactor for which Lee and Pugnetti had lobbied in Washington, D.C. He added that the commission would help communities attract new industry and diversify their economic base. But loss of the three reactors meant 2,000 jobs or 24 per cent of the Hanford work force would be eliminated; the nuclear facility comprised 80 per cent of the Tri-Cities' economy.[25]

The decade of the 1960s saw Lee, Pugnetti, and the nuclear industrial council intensify their activities to ensure that their three communities on the Columbia River did not become ghost towns. Within ten days of the President's message, Lee contacted NASA representatives about siting space facilities on the nuclear reservation. In February he spoke to directors of Seattle First National

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[24] Fleischer, "The Tri-City Nuclear Council," pp. 47-48, quoting *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* 88th Cong., 2nd sess., 1964, 20:863.

[25] Fleischer, "The Tri-City Nuclear Council," pp. 48-49.

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Bank to encourage investment for private industry in the Tri-Cities. In seeking to obtain a NASA tracking station, the nuclear industrial council enlisted the aid of Washington Senator Henry Jackson, who successfully introduced legislation further to diversify Hanford.

Lee and Volpentest returned to Washington, D.C., on numerous occasions to appeal to the AEC and NASA to utilize Hanford facilities, including a formal presentation in 1965 unsuccessfully seeking AEC's 200 billion electron volt particle accelerator.[26] Yet Hanford was given the $188 million Fast Flux Test Facility, providing a preliminary and vital step in the development of the new generation of Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactors. Lee considered all this the consolation prize in the accelerator campaign "because we had penetrated so deeply into the minds of important people in Washington, D.C., with our sales pitch, stressing the advantages of Hanford...."[27]

Diversification of the Hanford operation during the 1960s maintained employment levels. General Electric had been in Hanford since 1946, when it had taken over from the original contractor, DuPont. Winning contracts upon the departure of G.E. were U.S. Testing, Battelle Memorial Institute, Douglas United Nuclear, and ITT. Yet the closures of the reactors themselves continued, the first in 1964, with two more in 1966, and one in each year between 1967 and 1971.28 That the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council efforts to diversify the economy "have been crowned with a notable degree of success" was undoubtedly true in the face of the reactor closures.29 How much news readers got about this type of activity on the part of their editor and publisher will now be examined.

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[26] Fleischer, "The Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council," pp. 51-109. Volpentest, a political fund raiser and friend of Washington Senators Henry Jackson and Warren G. Magnuson, first introduced Lee into high level political circles, according to Bill Bequette, former managing editor of the *Tri-City Herald.* Telephone interview, April 21, 1993.

[27] Ibid., pp. 109-110.

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To determine the extent the reading public was made aware of the activities of Lee, Pugnetti, and, to some extent, Philip, some two dozen memoranda written by or to Lee between 1969 and 1971 on the subject of nuclear development were examined. These constitute the earliest extensive file of memos concerning Hanford in the Lee collection and range in subjects from visiting dignitaries to Lee's meeting with John Ehrlichman at the White House. Issues of the corresponding weeks of the *Tri-City Herald* were then examined to determine what news of this activity was passed on to readers. The major findings are reported here.

Lee, Pugnetti, and Volpentest returned to the nation's

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[28] Gerber, *On the Home Front*, pp. 140-141.

[29] Fleischer, "The Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council," p. 86.

capital in February, 1969, in an effort to staunch the reactor closures still threatened in the Nixon administration. With Volpentest present, Lee made a presentation at the Bureau of the Budget the morning of February 6 after determining to his satisfaction it was the bureau, not the AEC, that was ordering the budget cuts affecting Hanford. Among those attending were Philip S. Hughes, deputy budget director, and, later, for part of the meeting, Robert Mayo, budget director.[30]

Lee told the group the main concern of the Tri-Cities was that the budget cutbacks would thwart the diversification underway to private contractors. John Knievel, administrative assistant to Representative Catherine May of Washington State's Fourth Congressional District, who also attended the meeting, asked that reactor closures be delayed.[31]

That afternoon Lee spoke from prepared remarks for 22 minutes in a meeting with the full Atomic Energy Commission. Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg commended him for his eloquence, but mentioned the directive from the Bureau of the Budget concerning cost cutting. AEC Deputy General Manager John Erlewine added that $9 million would be spent on Hanford's Fast Flux Test Facility that year and $25 million the next in addition to a $6.3 million laboratory and waste storage proposal that would total $10 million.32 On February 7, Volpentest returned to meet with AEC Commissioner James T. Ramey to reinforce the points made in the meeting both men had attended the previous day.33

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[30] Glenn Lee memorandum, February 6, 1969, Washington State University Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections Division. Many of Lee's memos were not addressed. A second Lee memo dated February 6 about the trip to Washington is also in the collection.

[31] Ibid.

Readers of the *Tri-City Herald* were not told in advance of this trip to Washington, D.C., by the newspaper and industrial council representatives. Subscribers learned of the activity only on February 10--after an intervening weekend--on both the front and editorial pages. The decision to close the reactors was the AEC's, not that of the Bureau of the Budget, "Tri-City Nuclear Council representatives learned last week," said the story, which ran under the headline, "Nuclear Council Probes Reactor Cutback."34

The editorial bragged that the Nuclear Council men "opened some eyes" in Washington:

> Sen. [Henry] Jackson, Mr. Seaborg and the other commissioners must now see that heavy cutbacks at Hanford made too soon can severely damage, even stop the growth of the diversification trees they planted in the Tri-Cities.35

The second series of memos to be examined here, written to Lee by staff member Jack Briggs, resulted in no immediate

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Sam Volpentest memorandum, Feb. 7, 1969.

[34] "Nuclear Council Probes Reactor Cutback, *Tri-City Herald*, February 10, 1969, p. 1.

[35] "Roots Need More Growing Time," *Tri-City Herald*, February 11, 1969, p. 10.

news stories, but demonstrates how the newsroom kept the publisher informed about nuclear issues. In August of 1969, Briggs reported his telephone conversation with Paul Clifton, chairman of the California Nuclear Power Plant Siting Committee, who reported that state was not having much trouble in getting nuclear plants located. Lee or Briggs for emphasis marked in pen on the memo that a great deal of credit for the lack of any hysterical oppostion to nuclear power plants should go to the utilities, which Briggs said had done an excellent job of public relations.36

Briggs's next memo made it apparent why nuclear plant siting was of specific interest. The public power utility Umatilla Electric in Oregon, downstream from Hanford on the Columbia River, had the authority and capability to borrow money and build a generating plant.37

The issue of these memos may have been support for nuclear power generally rather than an attempt to have a plant for Oregon power sited at Hanford, as was the case in 1970 when the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council brought Seattle officials to town to convince them their new facility should be built 150 miles inland. The news story and editorial that coincided with these memos merely supported the Oregon activity. The *Herald* commended Oregon Senator Robert Packwood for supporting construction of the

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[36] Jack Briggs to Glenn Lee memo, August 22, 1969.

[37] Ibid., August 28, 1969.

state's first nuclear power plant in Eastern Oregon "otherwise the Pacific Northwest is going to have an electrical brownout in a few years."[38] The day this editorial was printed, Oregon Representative Al Ullman was reported telling 200 Eastern Oregon and Tri-City industrial and agricultural leaders that expansion of low-cost electric power was among the region's top priorities.[39]

Siting of nuclear reactors was also the subject of a memo Lee wrote to his newsroom staff and Philip a day following the visit of Washington Governor Daniel Evans to the Tri-Cities late in 1969. The governor's appearance at a new shopping center, his press conference, and speech to the Nuclear Industrial Council were of course reported in the *Herald* as spot news. Lee's memo reversed earlier practices when memos anticipated news stories. This memo merely reported for the record what Lee heard the governor say at the press conference and industrial council speech--that the state had to provide leadership in siting not just one or two nuclear reactors, but the total needed for the region's future power requirements.[40]

In November of 1969, Lee called Washington, D.C., to talk to John Kneivel, Representative Catherine May's administrative assistant, concerning a House and Senate conference committee on the status of Hanford reactors. Lee asked whether members of the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council should make the trip to Washington again to try to influence the course of events. Kneivel was non-committal, but demonstrating the role the *Herald* news staff played in such lobbying efforts, he suggested that Don Pugnetti call California Representative Craig Hosmer, a member of Congressional conference committee studying reactor cuts.41

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[38] "Horse-Sense Thinking," *Tri-City Herald*, August 27, 1969, p. 10.

[39] "Ullman Asks Area Cooperation," *Tri-City Herald*, August 28, 1969, p. 3. In November, AEC Commissioner James Ramey in the Tri-Cities expressed approval of proposed sites at Paterson in Washington state and at Boardman in Oregon. "Commissioner Ramey Impressed," *Tri-City Herald* editorial, November 26, 1969, p. 10.

[40] Memorandum, Glenn Lee to Don Pugnetti, Bill Bequette, Jack Briggs and Bob Philip, October 16, 1969.

Two months later, Lee and Volpentest were back in Washington, D.C., attempting to prevent closure of Hanford's K reactor as announced by the AEC. Lee upon arrival immediately wired Governor Evans, urging him to come to Washington to appeal to President Nixon to keep the reactor open. After meetings with Washington Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Representative May, Lee himself went to the White House on January 22, 1970, meeting with presidential assistant Harry S. Dent, who promised that Lee's information about the reactor, including general reactor use as a source of electric power, would be passed on to John Ehrlichman.42 But readers weren't told this detail of Lee's activities at the capital; they were merely told a day earlier that Lee and Volpentest had flown there to determine the rationale

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[41] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, November 24, 1969.

[42] Ibid., January 26, 1970.

for the closure decision.43

A month later, Lee was back in Washington, meeting first at the White House with John Ehrlichman. Then he went on to the Bureau of the Budget, not "begging ... we just wanted to figure out some way how we could utilize the facilities and the land area and the brain power and the people at Hanford before they shut down any more reactors."44 Of the nine reactors Hanford had seen, only two then remained in operation. He and Governor Evans met three days later with James R. Schlesinger, acting deputy director of the Bureau of the Budget, and, more briefly, Robert Mayo, director of the budget.45

But even before this meeting, readers of the *Tri-City Herald* had been told "K-Reactor Rumors Untrue." The rumor that the remaining K reactor was to be shut down was without basis, "the *Tri-City Herald* learned today." Catherine May, a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, had informed Lee that the AEC planned to continue operating the K and N reactors.46 But readers that week did not learn of Lee's access to the budget and White House officials.

Readers were told when the five members of the Seattle City Council Utilities Committee were briefed at Hanford

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[43] "Senators Ask President to Continue K Reactor," *Tri-City Herald,* January 20, 1970, p. 1.

[44] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, February 24, 1970.

[45] Ibid., February 27, 1970.

[46] "K-Reactor Rumors Untrue," *Tri-City Herald,* February 24, 1970, p. 1

during a trip sponsored by the nuclear industrial council.[47] Industrial council members hoped to have Seattle site its new power generating facility at Hanford; Lee's lengthy memo on the briefing pointed out it was 150 miles between Seattle and Hanford compared to 115 miles between Seattle and the city's Ross Dam facility in Skagit County.[48]

But it was not only the congruence between the *Herald's* stories and memos in March, 1970, that sheds light on the newspaper's coverage of its local industry. A "flap" about "hot ducks" is illustrative of this tone as it reported that four ducks taken in routine sampling had abnormally high amounts of radioactive material in their bodies from algae growing in the waste trenches:

> A person eating one pound of meat from a duck at this level would receive a dose to the bone five times the yearly guidelines for a adult established by Federal Radiation Council, but less the amount allowed for radiation workers.
>
> Eating a pound of the meat--and a person more likely won't eat less, the AEC said--would give a person of 2.2 rems of exposure for the whole body, when the Radiation Council sets a guide of .5. Radiation workers are allowed to absorb 5 rems.[49]

The editorial page booster tone was similar when 100 Eastern Oregon and Eastern Washington business and community leaders toured Hanford facilities:

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[47] "Hanford Could Save Seattle Millions, Power Probers Told," *Tri-City Herald*, March 13, 1970, p. 1.

[48] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, March 13, 1970.

[49] "AEC Embroiled in Flap Over Roosting Hot Ducks," *Tri-City Herald*, March 13, 1970, p. 3.

> Not a one expressed any doubt about the safeness of the operation....They virtually became nuclear missionaries and planned to spread the word of what they saw and of the great potential offered by nuclear power plants....These were intelligent, articulate men and we need them and more like them to tell the story and convince utilities and government agencies of the wisdom, benefits and advantages of locating the reactors east of the Cascades.50

Local politicians were a part of the triumverate with the press and the nuclear industrial council promoting Hanford. State Senator Mike McCormack, Tri-Cities Democrat who would succeed Catherine May in the U.S. House of Representatives, told visiting environmentalists the Columbia River might be the most radioactive river this side of the Iron Curtain, but environmentalists need have no fear of it. He told the Washington Environmental Council, meeting in Pasco shortly after the business leaders were in town, that "unscrupulous people are making a lot of money exploiting fear and twisting facts about atomic energy....The radiation level of the river is entirely safe."51 The next day the newspaper reported that McCormack was resigning his position as a research scientist for Battelle Northwest, a Hanford contractor.

A lead story by Don Pugnetti topped by an eight-column banner headline reading "Environmentalists Hear Hanford is the Best" quoted one member of the environmental council as asking why a nuclear power plant should be built in his home

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[50] "The Shape of Things to Come," *Tri-City Herald*, March 15, 1970, p. 8.

[51] "'Hot Columbia' No Threat: McCormack," *Tri-City Herald*, March 22, 1970, p. 1.

county; "we don't want them and you do."52 Pugnetti, who covered this Sunday meeting of the environmentalists, was mentioned in Glenn Lee's lengthy memorandum account as having talked to Battelle and AEC officials about the charge that cooling ponds the nuclear industrial council apparently favored were worse than cooling towers. "You guys don't know what you are talking about," a Battelle official told Sam Volpentest in his capacity as head of the council.53 Of course this exchange did not make it into Pugnetti's story.

Neither did a report of an April, 1970, trip by Lee and Philip to Seattle and the state capital make it into the *Herald*. The two officers of the newspaper first met with two representatives of the Seattle City Council Utility Committee in the continuing campaign to attract Seattle power facilities to Hanford. Then it was on to Olympia for a meeting with the governor and other officials, including Dan Ward, director of the State Department of Commerce, who was to be in Washington, D.C., later in the month, and was urged to arrange an appointment at the White House with John Ehrlichman. Gov. Evans suggested that Ward should write to Ehrlichman regarding the Hanford reactors, the transition from closing military reactors to new development, acquiring a liquid metal fast breeder reactor for Hanford, and

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[52] Don Pugnetti, "Environmentalists Hear Hanford is the Best," *Tri-City Herald*, March 23, 1970, p. 1.

[53] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, March 25, 1970, p. 3.

creating a Hanford laboratory for environmental studies.[54]

Glenn Lee met Ward in Washington, D.C., on April 22, 1970, to plan their strategy. Lee met with AEC Commissioner Jim Ramey that afternoon, with Ramey stating the AEC would like to keep the K and N reactors operating, but it was subject to the dictates of the Bureau of the Budget.[55] Two days later Ward and Lee were in Ehrlichman's office in the White House, discussing Hanford as a site for new reactors and Lee's hope that the existing reactors would remain operative for enough years to stabilize the economy. On the latter point, Ehrlichman was non-committal.[56] No story that week, however, told readers of the publisher's return to the White House.

By the time Lee was back in Washington, D.C., in August, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved $23.1 million for continued operation of the K East reactor at Hanford in a $1.9 billion AEC appropriation.[57] The *Herald* commended Washington Senator Warren G. Magnuson's "aggressiveness and dedication toward meeting the region's power needs," which would be appreciated by and a benefit to present generations and those unborn.[58]

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[54] Ibid., April 6, 1970.

[55] Ibid., April 22, 1970.

[56] Ibid., April 24, 1970.

[57] "Committee Clears K Reactor Funds," *Tri-City Herald*, August 11, 1970, p. 1.

[58] "Magnuson's Leadership Action," *Tri-City Herald*, August 11, 1970, p. 6.

Lee did not record in print details of the conversation he held at the White House August 13, 1970, with Todd Hullin while Sam Volpentest visited with California Congressman Craig Hosmer. Lee warned Hullin that the Pacific Northwest faced a power shortage because of continued delays due to reactor siting problems. If Hanford were approved as a nuclear park, Lee told him, reactor construction could proceed promptly and the Nixon administration could take credit for a showcase operation. Lee asked the White House to tell Seattle, Tacoma, the state's public utility districts, and the Washington Public Power Supply System that Hanford was the favored site for nuclear power development. If Ehrlichman did that, Hullin said, it would be interpreted as White House interference. Lee countered that another federal agency such as the AEC might perform this function for the White House, but Hullin said the president would probably take money away from the AEC to give it to veterans.59

All of Lee's lobbying to date paled in comparison to efforts that followed the AEC announcement in January of 1971 that not only the last K or plutonium production reactor would be closed, but also the dual purpose N reactor whose Congressional approval had been met with bands and

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[59] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, August 13,1970.

speeches when Lee returned to the Pasco airport in 1962.[60]

The Tri-Cities organized a campaign to generate 50,000 letters of protest, and Governor Evans appointed an eleven-member task force to press in Washington, D.C., for the continued operation of the N reactor.[61] But readers of the *Tri-City Herald* never learned of the bitter assessment of the governor Lee expressed in memo form:

> (So it appears now that [Sen. Henry] Jackson and Evans knew about this all the time, at least for a couple of weeks, but they wouldn't tell anybody and they let us run around putting a lot of work and effort and they were afraid to stick their neck out. All our efforts with Ehrlichman were worthless because he didn't make the decision and he couldn't do anything about it and had he let us known [sic] about it, perhaps we could have done something with the aluminum company presidents, or through Senator Magnuson or the governors of the Pacific Northwest. So it appears that neither Jackson nor Evans would stick their neck out when they should have been doing it but they just waited for the axe to fall, and then they want to jump in and fight for it and get the public to think they are doing a great job for the Northwest. The horse has been stolen and it's too late).[62]

Lee claimed he had "firm information" that Governor Evans and John Ehrlichman both knew of the closures 14 days before the AEC announcement, but "Evans wouldn't do anything about it, he wouldn't level with me, he wouldn't answer my phone calls, he wouldn't come back to Washington, D.C., he just sat there until the reactors went down and then he wants to be a hero."63 While Lee's pessimism was understandable, Don Pugnetti shortly informed him via memo that Evans had indeed been talking to Caspar Weinberger, "the No. 2 man in the budget" at the White House.64 Subscribers never became privy to the all of the additional machinations the editor reported to his publisher in the memo clearly marked "confidential"; they merely read that the governor had announced that the closure of the N reactor would be delayed. Editorially, the newspaper warned, "before Tri-Citians relax and rest on their oars they'd better recognize that at the most we've won a skirmish, not the war."65

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[60] An account of the closure announcement is given in Pugnetti, *Tiger by the Tail*, p. 308.

[61] "N Reactor Task Force Named," *Tri-City Herald*, February 4, 1971, p. 1.

[62] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, January 31, 1971.

When evidence of all this back channel activity did creep into print, it was disguised at best. On February 7, 1971, Sam Volpentest talked to Jim Ramey of the AEC, who said the Washington Public Power Supply System or the federal Bonneville Power Administration would have to raise steam payments by $10 million to $20 million to keep the reactor open.66 Three days later an eight-column banner above the flag on page one reported "Way Suggested to Save N-Reactor." It quoted an unnamed AEC official in Washington, D.C., saying resumption of operation was

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[63] Ibid., February 3, 1971.

[64] Donald Pugnetti memorandum, February 5, 1971.

[65] "Good News, but the Fight's Not Over," *Tri-City Herald*, February 4, 1971, p. 10.

[66] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, February 7, 1971.

possible if the state power supply system would be willing to pay the $10 million to $20 million a year for steam.[67] Lee viewed Ramey as Hanford's only friend on the AEC and privately recorded a Seattle consultant's view that Ehrlichman was "hopeless and helpless and overrated."[68] Lee saw the whole issue as confirming his suspicion that the AEC would like to close Hanford and the Battelle laboratories so AEC work could be concentrated at Savannah River, South Carolina, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee.[69]

Pugnetti briefed Lee by memo, implying the problem lay in the White House rather than the AEC, and in the unreliability of the N reactor if not its safety. In an extensive background piece not reflected in print, Pugnetti said former Representative Catherine May had seen a letter from Caspar Weinberger to Governor Evans stressing that the N reactor was down 42 per cent of the time. The editor reported that Mrs. May could play a role in influencing Nixon because she had stood by him in his 1960 defeat and "Nixon is the type of man who does not forget those who stays with him during the lean years." Besides, she was a friend of Clark McGregor's, the presidential adviser, who handled the president's appointment book. Pugnetti provided Lee Mrs. May's home and office numbers in Washington, D.C.[70]

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[67] "Way Suggested to Save N-Reactor," *Tri-City Herald*, February 10, 1971, p. 1.

[68] Glenn C. Lee memorandum, February 8, 1971.

[69] Ibid., February 10, 1971. The closure controversy became additionally complex when an unidentified source "high in the Nixon administration" was quoted by The New York Times as saying the N reactor was unreliable, a possible safety hazard, and a sloppy engineering job that would take millions of dollars to bring up to acceptable standards. This prompted the AEC to say the reactor "very definitely is not and never has been unsafe." Cf. "AEC Denies Reactor Unsafe," *Tri-City Herald*, February 10, 1971, p. 3, and Carroll Clark memo, Glenn C. Lee collection, February 10, 1971.

Governor Evans telephoned the *Tri-City Herald* "immediately" after the governor's task force completed its three-hour presentation to White House officials on behalf of the N reactor. Among those present were AEC Chair Glenn Seaborg, James Watt as assistant Secretary of the Interior, and representatives of the Office of Management and Budget, the AEC, and the Bonneville Power Administration.[71] Although Nixon did not attend, Evans did spend 40 minutes with him.[72] "With that much time with the President, I had an excellent opportunity to express our concern about the closure as well as explain the details of our proposal," the governor said. His presentation must have been helpful; the N reactor was soon back in operation.[73] In September, Nixon visited Hanford, meeting Lee and thanking him for his "loyal and continued support."[74] Also contributing to the campaign were Senators Warren Magnuson and Henry Jackson, the Sierra Club, labor unions, and Seattle, Portland, and Spokane newspapers.[75] The N reactor was finally closed for safety reasons in 1987, two years after Lee's death, and was closed permanently in 1988. The *Tri-City Herald* had been sold to the McClatchy Newspapers group before Lee died.

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[70] Donald A. Pugnetti memorandum to Glenn Lee, February 11, 1971.

[71] "Evans Optimistic on N Reactor," *Tri-City Herald*, February 17, 1971, p. 1.

[72] "Evans Sees President; Decision in a Week," *Tri-City Herald*, February 18, 1971, p. 1.

[73] Pugnetti, *Tiger by the Tail*, p. 311.

[74] Ibid., p. 299.

[75] Gerber, *On the Home Front*, p. 206.

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The *Tri-City Herald* was proud of its activist role in the community. "Most newspapers would have been satisfied to record history as it passed by--but the *Tri-City Herald* is unique in the fact it actually was responsible for making history," is how the newspaper proudly saw its achievement.76 It was the driving force behind the TrCity Nuclear Industrial Council, which might not have otherwise survived.77 Lee thus saw his personal role as a community booster and he encouraged Don Pugnetti as his editor to join in his lobbying efforts and to form and head the roads association. But two of Lee's former editors agree he not only largely took a hands-off approach to local Hanford coverage, he encouraged enterprise reporting at the nuclear facility.78 If that is demonstrated by further research, his boosterism may not prove to be as indiscriminate as anticipated in this study, which examined reporting of

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[76] Pugnetti, *Tiger by the Tail*, p. xiii.

[77] Ibid., p. 312. Former *Tri-City Herald* managing editor Bill Bequette goes so far as to say that the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council was "just a front" for Lee's and Volpentest's lobbying activities. Telephone interview, Bill Bequette, April 21, 1993.

[78] Telephone interviews with Jack Briggs, April 20, 1993, and Bill Bequette, April 21, 1993.

national lobbying activity, not Hanford plant coverage.

The majority of the *Tri-City Herald* readers were Hanford employees and they undoubtedly appreciated the efforts of its newspaper to keep their jobs secure. To them, the newspaper's activism provided the highest example of community service. That the news columns did not carry all the details about how this was done was secondary to their economic interests. All they knew was that both their community and their newspaper were economically more sound because Glenn Lee saw no separation between his role as publisher and secretary of the Tri-City Nuclear Industrial Council, and that he demanded no separation from his editor.

The Lee memos reflect a rich intercourse by the press among the industrial, political, and economic interests of the state and the nation. Some degree of this activism is at work on any newspaper any time an editor or publisher seeking information picks up a telephone and by a first name addresses a senatorial administrative assistant, federal undersecretary, or governor. Likewise, reporters on any newspaper write memos to their editors, and editors to their publishers, in forms similar to those preserved from the Lee estate. A gap thus exists on any newspaper between what the newsroom knows and what it prints. But while Lee may not have felt compelled to cover the private lobbying organization, under First Amendment watchdog assumptions, he was not free to have his editor become a lobbyist and ignore the activities of the many office holders with whom they dealt.

This comparison between what a newspaper knew and what it printed at an important period in the country's Cold War history is instructive at two levels. At the practical, it illustrates how little readers may learn of the decision-making processes among the federal, state, and regional power brokers, especially when their newspaper is actively involved. At the academic level, the study calls into question the single strand explanations of press performance--testing the watchdog approach, or the ethics of conflicts of interest, or the editor-in-power-structure consideration.[79]

More realistic would be a synthesis of these factors incorporating close attention to the economy of the community and its newspaper. The case of the *Tri-City Herald* is illustrative in this regard. Pertinent economic questions are the age of the community, whether it is predominantly a one-industry town, whether the publisher or editor activist stepped into a community leadership vacuum as Lee apparently did, and dependency upon government budgets, grants, and contracts.[80]

Lee and his staff got out of town, something editors and publishers of many small town newspapers never do.

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[79] The role of the editor in the community power structure is discussed in Clarice N. Olien, George A. Donohue, and Phillip J. Tichenor, "The Community Editor's Power and the Reporting of Conflict," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. XXXXV (Summer, 1968), p. 245.

[80] For a series of articles on economic aspects of newspapers, see *Journalism History*, Vol. 18, 1992, an issue entitled, "The Media Business."

Whether the local readers benefitted or were neglected by this activity will lend itself to colorful study as more becomes known about the Cold War's domestic front.[81]

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[81] Scholars wishing to pursue the subject of the Atomic West may wish to contact Prof. John Findlay of the University of Washington Department of History for availability of papers and proceedings of the Atomic West Conference held in Seattle September 25-26, 1992.

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The Canadian Dragon Slayer:
The Reform Press of Upper Canada

by

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The Canadian Dragon Slayer:
The Reform Press of Upper Canada

> It is one of the miserable consequences of the abuse of liberty, that a licentious press is permitted to poison the public mind with the most absurd and wicked misrepresentations, which the ill-disposed, without inquiry, receive and act upon as truths.[1]

So said John Beverley Robinson, the Attorney General of Upper Canada, in 1838, as he sentenced to death Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews for their role in the Rebellion of 1837.

The Rebellion marked the end of the Reform press which had captivated readers in Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario, from 1820 to 1837. Members of the Reform press were outspoken proponents for a reform of the government. Fearless in their attacks on those in power, they represented a marked departure from the early newspapers of the province which depended upon the government for their existence. Not only was the Reform press a watchdog for the people, but it was actually instrumental in bringing about a change in the govermental institutions of the province. It set the agenda for a movement toward ministerial responsibility, and the government had no choice but to follow.

The vociferous opponent of the Reform press was the Tory press. Archly conservative and staunchly British, the Tory press had the backing of the government of the day. The two press factions fought an ardent fight with the Tory press winning the battle, but ultimately losing the war. The Reform press, it will be argued, left a legacy of an open society with a free press and a responsible government.

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[1] Paul Rutherford, *The Making of the Canadian Media* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), 1.

Atlhough the Reform and Tory presses existed throughout Canada during this time period, this paper will be limited in discussion to the press of Upper Canada.

By 1820, Upper Canada was a hotbed of social, economic, and political conflicts. The province was a strange mixture of native-born and immigrant, Catholic and Protestant, Anglican and Dissenter, and Loyalist and American.[2] The widely dispersed, heterogeneous population had little sense of community and a great deal of distrust of each other and of the government sent from Britain to rule them.[3]

The rapid growth in population, which occurred between 1820 and 1830, lead to urbanization and a clash between town and country. While the early agrarian settlers had lived a relatively self-sufficient and simple existence, free of governmental institutions, the towns required new and more complex social structures and government hierarchies than had previously been in place.[4]

The governmental framework during the 1800s was what has been described as Royal Government. The Governor, Executive Council, and Legislative Council were appointed by British authorities and were guided by British instructions and by British laws of trade. The Assembly was elected by the people, but legislative action required the assent of the Governor, the Legislative Council, the Assembly, and the British Government.[5]

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[2] Ibid., 23

[3] Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 65.

[4] J. B. Brebner, *Canada: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960), 229.

The Assembly, although technically representative of the people, was powerless against the executive authority and the legislative council. The effective government in Upper Canada was in the hands of an exclusive oligarchy which ran the show to its advantage.[6]

Patronage was a way of life, and insiders skimmed the cream off every source of colonial wealth.[7] Since there was no native-born aristocracy, in the British sense of the word, the oligarchy drew recruits from wealthy individuals who mainly lived in the capital city of York, now Toronto. They were often newly arrived members of the British gentry. Such action intensified the scorn felt by both the rural population and the townspeople toward the oligarchy.[8] As Susannah Moodie, a less than enthusiastic immigrant from England, observed:

> the native-born Canadian regarded with a jealous feeling men of talent and respectability who emigrated from the mother country, as most offices of consequence and emolument were given to such persons.[9]

Although the government of Upper Canada treated the British gentry with deference, Canada as a whole was not able to attract the

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[5] Ibid., 146.
[6] Craig, 201.
[7] Brebner, 146.
[8] Craig, 190.
[9] Quoted in Brebner, 231.

British emigration, investment, and general economic intercourse that America could. The fledgling colony of Canada suffered from Britain's desire to form a friendly alliance with America.[10]

Given short-shrift economically, many Upper Canadians desired more political autonomy. Having close ties to America, they watched the American experience with interest. Like the Americans, they wanted a form of democracy, but, at the time, there was no real desire to separate from the mother country. Ideally, they wanted the American freedom to govern themselves without losing their dependency on Britain.[11]

Upper Canadians were hampered in their goal of greater autonomy by three prevailing British sentiments. The first was the traditional mercantile belief that it is better to have no colonies at all than not to have them subservient to Great Britain. This notion was, of course, reinforced in England by the American experience. The second was the antirepublican, antidemocratic temperment of obligarchy that prevailed in Great Britain. Post-revolutionary America and Napoleonic France were the two despised examples of republicanism and democracy at the time. The third force was the presence in the colony itself of an oligarchy which attempted to maintain itself by stressing colonial subordination.[12]

Historian Aileen Dunham aptly described the situation existing in Upper Canada at this time as follows:

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[10] Ibid., 145.
[11] Ibid., 147.
[12] Ibid., 146.

> the infant settlement of Upper Canada lying adjacent to the United States, and yet a British province, peopled one-half from Great Britain, one-half from the United States, formed a battle-ground on which were fought out the conflicting ideals of religion, education and government of the two states.[13]

Out of this hotbed of conflict developed a loosely defined reform movement. At the same time, a new breed of newspaper editor, who earned his living selling advertisements and subscriptions, emerged. He did not depend on the government for his financial support as had earlier editors and, as a result, had lost some of his fear of its long arm.[14]

The change in editor brought about a change in editorial practice. Long editorial comments on social and political issues became the norm[15] as editors took up the reform cause with vigor.

Upper Canadians had many of the characteristics which flourished on the American frontier. There was a belief in virtues such as individualism, initiative, and hard work.[16] The editor of the Reform press epitomized those virtues. He was a shining example of the commitment to one's self and to one's ideals. Individuals, he preached, could decide their own destiny. Thus, the notion of freedom of the press was tied to the notion of self-government[17] as newspapers became the most effective spreader of reform sentiment.[18]

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[13] Quoted in ibid., 235.

[14] W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Ottawa: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 12.

[15] Rutherford, 21.

[16] Craig, 198.

[17] Rutherford, 24.

[18] Craig, 200.

Rival newspapers emerged to counter partisan editorials. There was a clutter of papers on the market, each expressing a different opinion. The people's interest in politics and public debate was fueled to such an extent that many of those living in Upper Canada subscribed to more than one newspaper.[19] Susannah Moodie noted that "the Canadian cannot get on without his newspaper any more than an American could without his tobacco."[20] She described the Canadian newspaper itself as "a strange melange of politics, religion, abuse, and general information."[21]

"The early newspaper and its politics made democracy possible at the level where it matters most--the exchange of ideas in the neighbourhood, the serious but not necessarily solemn conversation among friends."[22] People got together and read the newspaper aloud. Then they would discuss the information that had been presented.

Bitter feuds developed between those who favoured the government and British rule--the Tory press, and those who argued for a form of self-government--the Reform press. Papers on both sides were crammed with politics.[23]

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[19] Rutherford, 30.

[20] Quoted in Douglas Fetherling, *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990), 16.

[21] Quoted in ibid., 31.

[22] William Kilbourn, *The Firebrand: William Lyon Mackenzie and the rebellion of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1956), 37.

[23] Rutherford, 19.

The passion for politics started with the printing of the Assembly debates.[24] When Francis Collins, who had been transcribing the debates of the Assembly for several years at the government's expense, started a newspaper called the *Canadian Freeman*, the government cut off his stipend. The politicians had resigned themselves to the fact that the debates would be transcribed for posterity, but they were not necessarily in favor of transcripts becoming accessible to the public through the newspaper. To William Lyon Mackenzie, the government's action was typical of the oligarchy. He decided to print the debates himself in his *Colonial Advocate*[25]and warned the Assembly accordingly:

> I shall sit in the gallery of your house; and, whether as your Reporter, or not as your Reporter, record and promulgate the language of truth, as it is elicited by your body in argument and debate, until the most distant boundary of our land shall echo back the tidings. I will not desert my post--never! never![26]

Mackenzie, who started the *Colonial Advocate* in Toronto in 1824, was the most notorious editor of the Reform press. He came to be known by those in government as the most dangerous man in Upper Canada.[27] Because of Mackenzie, the Assembly debates became a regular feature in the pages of the Reform press.

The public, now having access to a transcript of the debate, learned for the first time what actually went on in the Assembly. The people lost their awe of the workings of the Assembly and became politically literate. They realized that the members of the Assembly were ordinary men who were elected to serve them. The Assembly was no longer a mysterious entity which administered from on high.[28] The public demanded that it receive the representation for which it voted.

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Fetherling, 17.

[26] Quoted in Greg Keilty, ed., *1837: Revolution in the Canadas*, (Toronto: NC Press, 1974), 22.

[27] Ibid., 15.

The publishing of the debates was a first step toward the creation of public opinion. The Reform press furthered that development by expressing the assorted grievances within each town and within the province as a whole. It gave a voice to the people of Upper Canada for the first time, and transformed their complaints and ideas into symbols and stereotypes which they easily consumed. By articulating them, the press legitimized the feelings of dissension in the province.[29] The social, economic, and political tensions which seemed to be tearing the province apart were identified by the press and given a name--the Family Compact.

The Family Compact was the label used by Mackenzie to describe the powerful oligarchy which ruled Upper Canada. To Mackenzie, the Family Compact operated on nepotism and privilege. It was the kind of government class system that the Americans had revolted against. Although there is some question as to where exactly the term "Family Compact" originated and what it originally meant, there is no doubt that Mackenzie made it a household word.[30]

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[28] Rutherford, 20.

[29] Ibid., 31.

[30] Graeme Patterson, "An enduring Canadian myth: Responsible Government and the Family Compact," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 12, (1977): 6.

Lord Durham, who was sent to Upper Canada by Britain to investigate the causes of the Rebellion of 1837, filed a report stating that:

> The bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal Church and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by adherents of this party; by grant or purchase, they have acquired nearly the whole of the waste lands of the Province; they are all-powerful in the chartered banks, and, till lately, shared among themselves almost exclusively all offices of trust and profit.[31]

Although the term "Family Compact" probably meant different things to different people, it was always associated with the intolerable. It came to be symbolic of something negative, such that anything held out to be its opposite would be seen in a positive light. So it was with the theme of responsible government onto which the Reform press latched.[32]

Again, the term "responsible government" was certainly popularized by Mackenzie, if not coined by him. Responsible government today would be thought of as cabinet responsibility to a popularly elected house as exists in a modern parliamentary democracy. For Mackenzie and his cronies, the term probably meant some form of self-government and, in the very least, the opposite of what they had.[33]

The Reform press regaled the public with editorial comment against the Family Compact and for responsible government. The two terms were elevated to mythic proportions. Every reader found a way to identify with the opposing terms. One Irish immigrant wrote that the leaders of the Compact were "to Upper Canada what the leaders of 'the Protestant Ascendancy' have been to Ireland, a perpetual blight, the evil principle personified."[34]

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[31] Gerald M. Craig, ed., *Lord Durham's Report: An abridgement of Report on the Affairs of British North America by Lord Durham*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 79.

[32] Ibid., 10.

[33] Ibid., 4.

Mackenzie and the Reform press, using propaganda, created the myth of the Family Compact, an oligarchy which had seized control of the province and which epitomized evil.[35] The Reform press then gave the people a way out, a symbol of good--self-government in the form of responsible government.

Although the outspokenness of the Reform press, opened up public debate and animated the reform movement, it also resulted in conflicts with the Tory officials. The government fought back through the Tory press which it controlled, through the application of sedition laws, and, when all else failed, through the use of force.

In late 1831, the Tories charged Mackenzie with libelling the Assembly in an issue of the *Colonial Advocate* when he called the House a "sycophantic office for registering the decrees of as mean and mercenary an Executive as ever was given as punishment for the sins of any part of North America in the nineteenth century."[36]

On 11 December 1831, the Assembly met to hear Mackenzie answer the charges against him. In doing so, he appealed to the higher principles upon which the notion of freedom of the press is based:

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[34] Ibid., 9.
[35] Patterson, 3-16.
[36] Quoted in Kilbourn, 68.

> The articles complained of contain opinions unfavourable to the political character of members who compose the majority of this House and the executive council of this colony. It is alleged that to propagate such opinions is criminal and deserves punishment. . . . How are the people to know when to approve or to disapprove of the conduct of their rulers, if the freedom of expressing all opinions concerning public men be checked?
>
> If the government is acting wrongly, it ought to be checked. Censure of government causes injury and produces discontent among the people, and this discontent is the only means known to me of removing the defects of a vicious government and inducing the rulers to remedy the abuses. Thus the press, by its power of censure, is the best safeguard of the interests of mankind.[37]

In the 26 January 1832 issue of the Colonial Advocate, Mackenzie urged his readers to "remember, that wherever the Press is not free the people are poor abject degraded slaves," and "that the Press is the life, the safeguard, the very heart's blood of a free country; the test of its worth, its happiness, its civilization. . . ."[38]

The culmination of the propaganda was a call to arms in 1837.

> CANADIANS! Do you love freedom? I know you do. Do you hate oppression? Who dare deny it? Do you wish perpetual peace, and a government founded upon the eternal heaven-born principle of the Lord Jesus Christ--a government bound to enforce the law to do to each other as you would be done by? Then buckle your armour, and put down in the villains who oppress and enslave our country. . . .
>
> The promised land is now before us--up then and take it. . . . the prize is a splendid one. A country larger than France or England; natural resources equal to our most boundless wishes--a government of equal laws--religion pure and undefiled--perpetual peace--education to all-millions of acres of lands for revenue--freedom from British tribute--free trade

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Quoted in Rutherford, 24.

> with all the world--but stop--I never could enumerate all the blessings attendant on independence!
>
> Up then, brave Canadians! Get ready your rifles, and make short work of it.[39]

The Rebellion was ill-fated. Mackenzie had misread his public. They did not want to wage war to rid themselves of evil. Mackenzie's radicalism had gone too far for the average man.

After the Rebellion, the press experienced a period of repression. The government clamped down hard on the offenders, but the damage had already been done.[40] As William Cobbett said "tyranny has no enemy so formidable as the pen."[41] The people had experienced free press and public debate. Their desire for free political expression was not going to go away.

By 1840, it appeared responsible government had been achieved at least in theory. The Family Compact was dislodged from power and the Governor's actions were limited to that taken on the advice of the Executive Council which was appointed by a majority of the Assembly.[42]

The Reform press was gone and in its place was a more moderate, albeit effective press.[43] But the new press's effectiveness was a direct result of the legacy of the Reform press. Without the Reform press's stand against the oligarchy, the new press would not have been operating in such freedom.

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[39] Quoted in J.M. Bliss, ed. *Canadian History in Documents, 1763-1966*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), 47-48.

[40] Fetherling, 24.

[41] C. Elliott, "Conscience of England: The unknown side of William Cobbett," *Media History Digest* 2(1), (1982): 64.

[42] Patterson, 5.

[43] Fetherling, 24.

As Lord Goderich, Whig Colonial Secretary, remarked in 1832, "It is needless to look beyond Mr. Mackenzie's journal to be convinced that there is no latitude which the most ardent lover of free discussion ever claimed which is not at present enjoyed with perfect impunity in Upper Canada."[44]

The Reform press has been criticized for being radical,[45] but radicalism was what was needed to bring about the necessary changes. It is true that a reform movement would have arisen without the Reform press, but the press accelerated the process. In so doing, it also created an open society where freedom of the press was expected and demanded.

By publishing the Assembly debates, the newspapers brought the government closer to the people and demystified it. Then, by giving a voice to the people of Upper Canada and by creating the myth of the evil Family Compact and the good responsible government, the Reform press united the people of Upper Canada. It gave them a sense of community, in a way that had not been felt previously. The various tensions, which existed in the province at the time, were channelled into one direction. The Family Compact became the evil incarnate.

The result was that the people became politically literate. With issues being openly debated in the newspapers, the people were able to make reasoned decisions and demanded more of their politicians. The Assembly, in turn, became more responsible to the people which gave it a greater power over the colonial institutions of the governor and councils. The Reform press had paved the way for responsible government. "The reformers, like St. George, had slain a fierce dragon, 'the family compact,' to liberate 'responsible government,' a fair lady who had long languished in chains."[46]

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[44] Quoted in Kilbourn, 91.

[45] Fetherling; Kesterton.

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[46] Patterson, 12.

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The Campaign for Libel Reform: State Press Associations in the Late 1800s*

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A paper submitted to the American Journalism Historians Association for presentation at the 1993 Annual Meeting in Salt Lake City, UT.

Research for this paper was funded, in part, by a NEH Summer Research Grant and a University of Oregon Summer Research Award.

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[*] An earlier treatment of some of the material in this paper can be found in "Seeking Shelter from the 'Best Men' (and Newspaper Editors): Libel Litigation in the Late-1800s," a paper delivered at William and Mary Law School in 1989.

The Campaign for Libel Reform: State Press Associations in the Late 1800s

Introduction

In the years since *New York Times v. Sullivan*[1] a growing consensus has developed that *Sullivan* and its progeny have not solved the libel problem . Currently, several different libel reform proposals being debated and the details of libel law continue to be grist for the judicial mill.[2] This paper is part of a larger effort to put the current debate in historical perspective by shedding light on the history of libel and the newspaper industry in the late-19th century. It begins to examine national and state newspaper trade association efforts to pass libel reform legislation in the 1880s and 1890s.

The primary resources used include newspapers and trade publications, and state and national press association annual reports. In addition, archival materials from several publishers' papers and assorted legal material are used.

The paper outlines the proposed legislation, publishers' view of the libel problem and the success or failure of the efforts. This is a preliminary discussion of the material and is intended to provide a framework for more detailed study of the libel reform campaigns in several specific states.

For newspaper publishers libel law never goes away. Throughout the nineteenth century debates over the limits of libel law took place in state courtrooms and to a lesser degree in state legislatures. The debate ebbed and flowed -- newspapers won some significant battles along the way -- but at the end of the century newspapers publishers faced at least three unpleasant facts: the threat of libel suits was constant and real; the expense of libel litigation was at best a costly nuisance and at worst threatened economic health; and libel law did not favor newspapers.[3]

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[1] *New York Times v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254 (1964).

[2] *For an overview of the current situation, see,* John Soloski and Randall P. Benanson, *Reforming Libel Libel* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1992).

In addition, some evidence suggests that newspapers were losing the loyalty of the public, or at least of juries. Azel F. Hatch, a Chicago attorney, told the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) in 1895 that attitudes toward the press had changed. "[T]he temper of juries toward newspapers is far different from what it was even twenty years ago in this country." Juries, especially urban juries, increasingly issued verdicts and judgments in favor of plaintiffs. "[T]he number of verdicts against newspapers throughout the United States...and the size of those verdicts is constantly increasing."[4] Hatch noted that the largest verdict ever affirmed in Illinois was for $3,000 and between 1890 and 1895 ever verdict in Chicago against a newspaper for more than $10,000 had been set aside by the courts.[5]

Newspapers appear to have won more suits than they lost, but the threat of losing was significant enough and the nuisance and cost factors associated with litigation great enough that newspaper publishers in the 1880s and 1890s desired relief from the existing libel standards.[6] An Ohio publisher, echoing a commonly heard refrain, observed, "Not one libel case in ten results in a verdict for the plaintiff, and yet under the present laws publishers are annually taxed hundreds of thousands of dollars to defend themselves against rascals and shyster lawyers."[7]

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[3] *see, in general,* Norman L. Rosenberg, *Protecting the Best Men* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1985); Clifton O. Lawhorne, *Defamation and Public Officials,* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1971); Timothy W. Gleason, The Watchdog Concept, (Ames: Iowa State Univ. Press, 1991).

[4] *Minutes of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn.* , 1895, p. 70. [hereafter *Minutes*]

[5] *Id.* at 70-71.

[6] Tim Gleason, "The Libel Climate in the Late 19th Century: A Survey of Libel Litigation, 1884-1899" *Journalism Quarterly* (in press). Study of libel litigation at the trial and pre-trial level shows minimal likelihood of plaintiffs' winning libel suits.

[7] *Proceedings of the Associated Ohio Dailies* (1896): 45.

Publishers did not stop going to court, but they had little reason to expect relief from the judiciary. In general, judges had turned deaf ears to the pleas of publishers. Instead, they turned to the state legislatures. Beginning the late-1880s and continuing through the end of the century, publishers engaged in concerted, organized efforts to make state libel laws more friendly to newspaper interests.

This campaign might be considered the first major effort to reform libel law in the modern era. The eras of the political press and the penny press were in the past.[8] Newspapers viewed news as a product and began to function as an industry.[9] While we tend to view libel through a freedom-of-the-press lens, libel is also, like newsprint costs and postal rates, a bottom-line business concern for publishers.

State press associations, the industry's trade organizations organized and operated the campaigns. While the free press aspects of the campaign should not be ignored, it may be more useful to view it as a campaign for trade legislation, no different than the campaigns run by railroad, banks, electric companies and the other emerging industries of the late nineteenth century.

Discussion

The problem of libel law was not a new one for publishers in the last two decades of the 19th century. The century began with trials under the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798, well-known libel trials in several states and the battle to establish truth as a defense in libel law. In every decade publishers complained loudly about the law but found libel suits to be a tolerable nuisance. In 1868, Horace Greeley, the publisher of the *New York Tribune*, wrote that libel suits were "prominent annoyances....I can hardly remember a time when I was absolutely exempt from these infestations."[10]

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[8] *see, in general,* Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); John C. Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (December 1987): 376-404.

[9] Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

He urged publishers to form a united front against libel suits. "Such a combination for mutual defence [sic] would arrest the prevailing habit of paying $50 or $100 to buy off the plaintiff's attorney as the cheapest way out of the bother, would soon reduce the number of suits for libel and would result in a substantial and permanent enlargement of the Freedom of the Press. It should have been formed long ago."[11]

By the late 1880s, publishers were ready to take united action. Courts had been generally unreceptive to arguments for change in the common law of libel, state legislatures had been equally cool to publishers' pleas and the number of libel suits filed against newspapers continued on an upward trend.[12]

The Press Associations' Campaign for Libel Reform

Publishers in the states began to form state press associations in the 1850s. In the 1880s two national press associations, the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) for larger metropolitan papers and the National Editorial Association (NEA) for the "country" papers began operation.[13] As Gerald Baldasty notes, the press associations' primary concerns were "advertising, circulation, technology and labor."[14] Libel was discussed regularly and many associations established libel legislation committees.

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[10] Horace Greeley. *Recollections of a Busy Life* (Boston, 1868): 261

[11] *Id.* at 267. Horace Greeley.

[12] Gleason, supra, note 6; also see, Rosenberg, p. 197.

[13] For a history of the early years of the ANPA, see Edwin Emery, *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association*, (Minneapolis, 1950). For a record of the annual meetings of the NEA, see, B.B. Herbert, *The First Decennium of the N.E.A.* (Chicago, 1986). The ANPA ,a trade association established in 1887, represented urban daily newspapers. The NEA, established in 1886, represented "country newspapers."

The New York Press Association (NYPA) claims it was the first state press association, formed in 1857. While some press associations had urban papers in their membership, the bulk of their memberships came from rural and small city papers. In New York, for example, few of the New York City publishers were active in the NYPA.

The Committee on Legislation of the NEA reported at the 1891 convention that, "Next to the publication of [legal advertising] which is urged for the benefit of all the people...the libel laws...deserve consideration.[15] But libel was not a concern of the highest order. Publishers spent far more time discussing and acting on advertising rates and printing press questions.

The trade organization orientation of the press associations is significant. The history of libel law is closely linked to freedom of the press and editorial concerns. Yet the focus of the trade associations was on the "counting room" aspects of newspaper publishing. While the press associations did discuss the editorial function of the newspaper and devote a portion of their annual meetings to orations on the role of the newspaper in society, the business portions of the meetings were devoted to the *business* of newspapering.

Thus, the campaign for libel reform was, in part, a campaign for freedom of the press, but it was also part of a larger legislative strategy to use legislation to preserve and expand or create a favorable climate for doing business.

The national press associations visited the topic throughout the period, distributed model legislation and shared strategies with the state associations, but they left the work of lobbying legislators and proposing specific laws to the state associations. The stated reason for this division of effort was the state-base of libel law. No national libel law existed. The state associations were seen as the more effective unit for promoting legislation.[16]

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[14] Baldasty, p. 102; see, also, Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989): 61. Dicken-Garcia suggests that "Competition for the [newspaper] market," led to the organization of press associations. Little has changed. A *New York Times* reporter covering the 1993 Newspaper Association of America convention observed, "This meeting is largely concerned with the dollars and cents of newspapering. But the publishers also occasionally receive tutoring in the journalistic challenges faced by the people who fill space between the ads." William Glaberson, *The New York Times*, nat'l. ed., April 28, 1993, p. C18.

[15] "The Law of Libel," *The Journalist* (August 14, 1891): 12.

Between 1884 and 1901, legislatures considered libel statutes--many drafted by state press associations--in at least the following states: New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Utah, Texas, Washington, Connecticut, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, California, Maine, New Jersey, Texas; and in the Oklahoma Territory.

The Libel Reform Bills

While each state press association independently lobbied its legislature, all of the proposed bills addressed the same set of issues. The common goal was to "modify the libel laws in such a way that the papers will still be responsible for willful slandering, and yet will be held guiltless where they prove the error was unintentional, and that retraction was immediately and prominently made."[17]

In 1887, the NEA "recommend[ed] that each State and Territorial Association ...endeavor to secure passage" of a model statute:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of ____:

Section 1. Where alleged libelous publications are made, malice shall not be presumed unless a retraction or apology is refused to be made, or unless the circumstances surrounding the publication and a refusal to retract or apologize, conclusively prove malice."[18]

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[16] Some did advocate a national libel law, but no concerted effort to pass such a law appears to have developed. See, for example, "Law and Literature, *The Journalist*, November 27, 1886, p. 8; "A National Libel Law," *Fourth Estate*, March 8, 1894, p.6; "Libel Measure Endorsed By Publisher," *Fourth Estate*, March 15, 1894, p.1.

[17] "The Past Year," *Fourth Estate*, January 6, 1898 p 1, 3.

[18] Herbert, p. 161.

The Michigan statute proposed in 1889 expanded on the NEA model:

> Section 1. The people of the State of Michigan enact, that in actions for libel there shall be no presumption of either express, actual or legal malice from the mere fact of the publication of the libel, and the burden of proof on the question of malice shall be on the plaintiff.
>
> Section 2. In actions for libel, if there is no proof of express malice, or the court or jury shall find that there was no such malice, then no exemplary or primitive damages shall be awarded; nor shall any general damages be awarded that are not strictly actual and real.
>
> Section 3. No action for libel shall be maintained unless the plaintiff shall, before bringing out, request the defendant to publish a retraction of the libel and allow the defendant a reasonable time in which to publish such retraction and make such amends as are reasonable and possible under the circumstances of the case; and proof of the publication of any such retraction or correction shall be admissible evidence under the general issue on the question of the good faith of the defendant and in mitigation and reduction of damages. Proof of the failure or neglect of the plaintiff to comply with the provisions of this section may be given in evidence under the general issue in bar of the action.
>
> Section 4. It shall not be unlawful for any attorney-at-law to bring or conduct any action of libel on a contingent fee, or on any understanding, express or implied, that he is to receive any portion, or all, of the damages recovered as compensation for his services; nor shall any attorney-at-law advance any money or incur any liability for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the plaintiff in any such action.
>
> Sec. 5. repeals all acts inconsistent with the act.[19]

The proposed state bills clearly show consensus among the publishers on the features required to solve the libel problem.

(1) Retraction

Most if not all of the proposed bills had retraction provisions.[20] Hatch called retraction provisions "[o]ne of the most common amendments."[21] In some draft bills, a written request for retraction was required before a suit could be filed.[22] In others, publication of a retraction limited possible damages should a suit be filed.[23]

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[19] "The Newspaper and the Law" *The Journalist*, February 16, 1889, p.3.

[20] In 1990, at least 30 states have retraction statutes. Donald M. Gillmor et al. *Mass Communication Law* (St. Paul, 1990): 274.

Without legislative revision, the common law in some states permitted a plaintiff to either introduce a retraction as evidence of falsity or to file a second suit based on the contents of the retraction statement. In others, a retraction published after a suit commenced could not be admitted as evidence to mitigate damages.[24]

(2) Elimination of presumption of malice.

Under the common law and most state statutes in the late 1800s a presumption of malice existed. A defendant in a libel suit had the burden of proving that the libel had been published without ill-will or intent to harm the plaintiff. This presumption was grounded in an assumption that the publisher of the defamatory statement was also the speaker of the statement. In an earlier era when newspapers were produced in small printing shops by one or two persons, it was reasonable to assume that the intent of the publisher could be determined by the nature and content of the published material.

By the late-1800s many publishers were no longer involved in the day-to-day publication of the newspaper. A hierarcy of editors and reporters now separated the publisher from the copy appearing in the paper. While the

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[21] *Minutes*, 1895, p. 73.

[22] See, for example, "Appendix A-Massachusetts. An Act relating to civil suits for libel against publishers of newspapers," sec. 1. Herbert, p. 612.

[23] see, for example, "An Act to amend sections 1907 and 1908 of the Code of Civil Procedure relating to Libels" sec. 2. New York Assembly, 1889, rpt. "That Assembly Ceiling," *The New York Times*, (Jan. 31, 1889); "An Act to amend sections 1907 and 1908 of the Code of Civil Procedure relating to Libels" sec. 2. (Int. No. 836) New York Assembly, 1894, rpt. "Albany, N.Y. *The Journalist* (Mar. 24, 1894): 3; "Appendix B-Pennsylvania. An Act Defining Libel, and Providing Punishment Therefor.[sic]" sec. 5., rpt. Herbert, p. 615-616; "Appendix C-Illinois. Illinois Libel Law" sec. 1., rpt. Herbert, p. 616-617.

[24] Samuel Merrill, *Newspaper Libel* (Boston, 1888): 67, 264-65.

publishers' protests detailed below may sound like special pleading, they did have a legitimate concern. As long as malice was presumed, a publisher faced a very difficult burden of proof. The proposed statutes attempted to lessen that burden by removing the presumption of malice, allowing the defendant to introduce evidence that the material was published in good faith, and eliminating punitive damages absent evidence of malice.[25]

(3) Multiple Suits and Distant Claims.

The 1895 Massachusetts law allowed "any justice of the court in which such libels are pending" to consolidate the actions and order "the apportionment of costs in the several actions between defendants..."[26]

Publishers feared a plaintiff's filing of more than one suit based on the same publication. In some cases, a single plaintiff would file suit against a number of papers based on a single article reprinted in other papers. In other cases, a plaintiff would file numerous suits against the same paper for one article.

Equally disturbing to publishers was the filing of a suit in the plaintiff's home town, when the publisher was in another county or state.

A "syndicate of libel suits" filed by Tyndale Palmer and J.F. DeFreitas represented publisher's worst fear. A report alleging that the two had acted illegally in an elaborate business deal appeared in the *Philadelphia Times*. It was picked up the United Press and the Western United Press. The two businessmen proceeded to bring libel suits against more than 40 newspapers asking damages of more than $2 million. All of the cases were either settled for minimal amounts or the plaintiffs given judgments for one or six cents.[27]

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[25] see, for example, "An Act to amend sections 1907 and 1908 of the Code of Civil Procedure relating to Libels" sec. 2. New York Assembly, 1889, rpt. "That Assembly Ceiling," *The New York Times*, (Jan. 31, 1889); The defendant may also set up in his answer and give proof upon the trial that such publication was made in good faith and without malice.
"An Act to amend sections 1907 and 1908 of the Code of Civil Procedure relating to Libels" sec. 2. (Int. No. 836) New York Assembly, 1894, rpt. "Albany, N.Y. *The Journalist* (Mar. 24, 1894): 3...the publisher of such newspaper...may introduce evidence of such retraction, and that the alleged libel was published in good faith, without actual malice, and unless the plaintiff prove actual malice, or want of good faith, or failure to retract..."Appendix A-Massachusetts. An Act relating to civil suits for libel against publishers of newspapers," sec. 1. Herbert, p. 612; *see also*, Rosenberg, p. 199.

[26] "Appendix A-Massachusetts. An Act relating to civil suits for libel against publishers of newspapers," sec. 1. Herbert, p. 612.

(4) Privileged Communications

The courts in most states had adopted fair or true report privileges for reporting of judicial and legislative proceedings, comments upon the policy of government, the conduct of public men, and other matters which concern the public welfare. In New York State, the privilege was codified.[28]

(5) Restrictions on Plaintiffs' Attorney Fees / Payment of Costs

In efforts to eliminate financial incentives for plaintiffs' lawyers, several bill included limits on fees and awarded costs to successful defendants. For example, California required plaintiffs to post a $500 bond for counsel fees and costs. Should the case be dismissed or the defendant win, costs would be rewarded to the defendant. Should the plaintiff be awarded less than $300, he or she would lose the entire bond.[29]

The Publishers' Lament

The discussions at press association meetings indicate that the differences among the states were only in degree. Some states' laws were better than others, but publishers found all unsatisfactory. The common themes heard at publishers' meeting included lawyers, harassment suits, the cost of litigation and the presumption of malice.[30]

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[27] "Those Tyndale Palmer Libel Suits," *The Fourth Estate* (July 22, 1897): 1; "United For Defence" [sic] (Oct. 25, 1894); "One Loved By Many," (Dec. 19, 1895): 3; "Palmer Loses A Suit In Syracuse," (Mar. 11, 1897); "Another Great Victory" (May 6, 1897): 1; "Palmer Gets 6 Cents Only," (May 20, 1897): 2; "Tyndale Palmer Strikes Again," (July 1, 1897); "Tyndale Palmer Wins," (Jan. 14, 1897); "Recent Libel Litigations," (Nov. 26, 1896); "Tyndale Palmer Again," (Sept. 24, 1896): 7.

[28] "An Act to amend sections 1907 and 1908 of the Code of Civil Procedure relating to Libels" sec. 1. (Int. No. 836) New York Assembly, 1894, rpt. "Albany, N.Y. *The Journalist* (Mar. 24, 1894): 3

[29] Merrill, p. 32.

Presumption of Malice

Judges, publishers believed, refused to adapt libel law to the "modern" newspaper. A publisher told the 1887 meeting of the NEA, "No journalist who has ever entered the courts in defending a suit for libel has failed to perceive the utterly antiquated character of the statutes bearing upon it and the total inapplicableness of the governing decisions top the conditions under which a modern newspaper has to be published."[31]

How could a publisher or an executive editor be required to overcome a presumption of malicious intent when he wasn't even on the premises when the libelous story was reported, written, edited and published? The courts, publishers argued, didn't appreciate the complexity of modern newspaper publishing.

And to add insult to the injury, the courts held publishers to an unfair burden not shared by the lowest of criminal defendants. In 1892, Washington Press Association President J.R. Buxton, called the existing law "a barbarism which should be amended so that editors may be placed on the same footing as any other man charged with a criminal offence [sic].[32]

The *New York Tribune*, editorializing in support of libel reform in New York State, wrote:

> The need of reform in the libel laws is attracting attention in many states. Legislators are waking up to the fact that the newspaper publisher or editor rests in defending a libel suit under the burden of a legal presumption which is not inflicted upon the meanest criminal. The man

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[30] *Minutes* (New York, 1890): 21.

[31] Herbert, p. 142.

[32] The Washington Press Association first called for libel reform in 1890. *Proceedings of the Washington Press Association* (1892):__, __.

> who is caught picking a pocket is innocent in the eyes of the law until he has been absolutely proved guilty, but the newspaper publisher or editor is presumed to be guilty until he is proved to be innocent.[33]

Samuel Merrill, of the *Boston Globe* and the author of *Newspaper Libel*, a widely circulated libel handbook published in 1889, voiced the same complaint in a more measured tone:

> Another serious defect in the law as it stands at present seems to be the inequitable assumption that every publication which is false and defamatory is prompted by malice.[34]

"Shyster Lawyers" and Frivolous Suits

Greeley attributed much of the libel problem to "certain attorneys, destitute alike of character and law."[35] Publishers clearly believed that the blame for a large number of libel suits belonged at the feet of the legal profession. Not only could lawyers be blamed for encouraging suits, but also, for killing libel reform bills.

In 1894, the ANPA urged reforms that would protect "editors and publishers...from the annoyance of malicious and frivolous suits with which they are now frequently harassed."[36]

The publisher of the *Boston Herald* said efforts in Massachusetts failed because "two-thirds of the members of the Legislature were cheap lawyers" with a self-interest in promoting libel suits against newspapers.[37]

In Illinois, the president of the ANPA, said, "if you publish anything about a man, and he wants the opportunity to tell his friends it is a lie, he spends six dollars to bring suit. He never files any papers...but as far as he is concerned it justifies him with his friends." Chicago papers, the publisher claimed, paid up to $15,000 "not so much for judgments, as for fighting the suits."[38]

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[33] "Reform The Libel Laws" edt. *The New York Daily Tribune* (March 13, 1889): 6.

[34] Merrill, p. 33.

[35] Horace Greeley. *Recollections of a Busy Life* (Boston, 1868): 261.

[36] *Minutes*, 1894 , p. 41.

[37] "Libel Law Legislation," ltr. *Fourth Estate*, July 5, 1894, p.4.

According to the publisher of the *Harrisburg Independent*, every libel suit faced by his paper was brought by "third rate attorneys....As long as the State Legislature is composed of Attorneys and Politicians, I fear there is not much hope."[39]

S.J. Flickinger, of the *Ohio State Journal* told the annual meeting of the Associated Ohio Dailies, in 1893, that Ohio libel law was "simply a temptation to irresponsible people and to shyster lawyers to bring damage suits."[40]

The Power of the Press

Publishers had one weapon not available to other interest groups seeking legislation. They were quite willing to use their newspapers to influence legislators.

Publishers frequently were urged to support only candidates who favored libel reform. At one association meeting they were instructed to see that each newspaper's interests were served "by the member of its district, who, nine times out of ten, owes his election to the efforts of his paper" [41]

In 1889, E.H Butler, publisher of the Buffalo *News* and an active participant in efforts to pass libel reform bills in New York, told the NEA that "libel-law reform, I fear, will be very slow unless we teach these legislators the power of the press."[42] The Association passed a resolution urging "the different members in their own Press

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[38] *Minutes* (1890): 27.

[39] *Id.*, p. 24.

[40] *Proceeding of the 8th Annual Meeting of the Associated Ohio Dailies* (Springfield, Ohio, 1893): 33.

[41] *The Journalist*, (1889): __

[42] *Herbert*, p. 282.

Associations," to work for the election of legislators who supported "such bills as meet the approval of the Press of the State."[43]

Ohio publisher Flickinger urged his colleagues to "call personally on the members of the legislature from their respective counties" to lobby for passage of a proposed libel reform bill."[44]

It is not surprising to hear publishers privately discussing (many of the meetings were closed to the public) the use of their papers to pressure legislators, but some publishers were more blatant. *The Newspaper*, a trade paper, reported in 1899, that "Texas papers...maintain a standing notice at the head of their editorial column that no candidate for the legislature will be supported who fails to pledge himself to work and vote for a just libel law."[45]

Success and Failure

Publishers fought an uphill battle in most legislatures and frequently did not get the kind of reform they wanted. The NEA's Committee on Legislation reported in 1896 that Minnesota had adopted a statute and that bills were pending in Illinois, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. In addition, "New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio had passed laws making it a misdemeanor to give false information to a newspaper"[46]

By the end of the decade, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, California, Utah, Indiana and the Oklahoma Territory enacted libel reform bills.[47]

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[43] *Id.*, p. 27.

[44] *Proceedings of the 8th Annual Meeeting of the Associated Ohio Dailies* (Springfield, Ohio: 1893): p. 44. The efforts were unsuccessful. By 1899, the AOD was discussing its fourth attempt to get legislation approved. *The Ohio Newspaper Maker* (Columbus, 1899): 18-33.

[45] "Libel," The *Newsmaker*, September 7, 1899, p.4.

[46] *Herbert*, p. 611-612.

[47] "New Jersey's Just Libel Law," *Fourth Estate*, June 23, 1898, p.3; "Libel Law Reform Legislation," *Fourth Estate*, April 14, 1898, p.3; "Libel Law Reform," *Fourth Estate*, July 8, 1897, p.1; "Libel Fight Won," *Fourth Estate*, June 24, 1897, p.1; "Utah's New Libel Law," *Fourth Estate*, March 26, 1896, p.7; "New Definition of

Illinois passed a reform bill in 1897 only to face an effort to repeal it.[48] Then a judge declared it unconstitutional.[49] Efforts failed in New York, Ohio, Washington and Connecticut.[50]

Even where bills passed, the newspapers were less than satisfied and the battle was far from over. In Michigan, where a bill finally did pass, W. H. Brearley, a Detroit publisher, reported that his press association made an more than nine unsuccessful attempts to pass legislation. The earlier efforts failed he said, because the testimony of the "legal fraternity...perverted known fact and characterized the press of the State as existing primarily for blackening of character and blackmailing."[51] While the proposals had been "moderate," they were "treated it as a joke by the legislature," which passed a weaker measure, that "practically denied our request."[52]

In 1899, an ANPA delegate from Massachusetts reported that his state's 1897 libel reform bill was "working well with us. It is not quite so strong as we wanted it, but it seems to be quite as effective as we could desire."[53] By 1903, the Boston Daily Newspaper Association was once again in front of the legislature.[54]

Libel," *Fourth Estate*, October 10, 1895, p.5; "California's New Libel Law," *Fourth Estate*, April 11, 1895, p. 6; "The Law of Libel," *Fourth Estate*, February 28, 1895, p.6.; "New Libel Law For Indiana," *Fourth Estate*, February 28, 1895, p.3.

[48] "Illinois Modern Libel Law Repealed," *Fourth Estate*, June 10, 1897, p.2; "Illinois Legislation," *Fourth Estate*, February 11, 1897, p.6; ""The Illinois Libel Law," *Fourth Estate*, February 25, 1897.

[49] "Libel Laws And Judiciary," *Fourth Estate*, November 18, 1897, p.4.

[50] "Libel Bill That Failed," *Fourth Estate*, June 29, 1899, p.4; "Libel Law Reform Legislation," *Fourth Estate*, April 14, 1898, p.3; In the 1894 session of the Washington legislature, a libel reform amendment identical to California's was introduced but failed.

[51] *Minutes* (1890), p. 25-26.

[52] *Id.*

[53] *Minutes*, 1899 at 14.

[54] Letter, Chas. H. Taylor Jr. to members of Boston Daily Newspaper Assn, April 6, 1903, Taylor Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society.

In New York and Pennsylvania, the publishers successfully lobbied for compromise "False Information" statutes. Butler advised they work for "provisions requiring suits for libel be tried in the county where the publication alleged to be libelous was made, and also constituting the furnishing of libelous statements to newspapers a misdemeanor," if they were unable to pass comprehensive libel reform bills.[55]

The Pennsylvania false information statute, adopted in 1893, made it "a misdemeanor to willfully state, deliver or transmit to any newspaper, magazine, or other periodical, a libelous statement, and thereby secure the publication of the same."[56]

A number of factors contributed to the failure of publishers to pass libel legislation. In New York where unsuccessful efforts began in the late-1880s and continued through the 1890s, the split between New York City papers and the rest of the state was perhaps the determinative factor.

In 1889 and again in 1893 and 1894, New York publishers lobbied for libel reform. John Townshend, the author of a leading 19th-century libel treatise and counsel to several New York City newspapers, called the 1889 campaign in New York, "a fierce onslaught upon the existing law of libel, particularly as applied to newspapers."[57] Bills were introduced in the legislature, publishers lobbied and editorialized, but the bills died in committee.

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[55] Herbert, p. 544. In the same year, the ANPA appointed a special committee to prepare a "revision of the libel laws." *Minutes*, (1893), p. 11.

[56] William B. Rogers, *2nd Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Bar Association* (1896): 175.

[57] John Townshend, *A Treatise on the Rights and Wrongs Called Slander and Libel*, 4th ed. sec. 209 (New York, 1890): __

Following the defeat of the 1894 effort, Governor R.P. Flower of New York told publishers that relief would be granted only if "a fence could be built around New York City so that the terrible papers of that city could be excluded"[58]

The report to the NYPA in 1896 was brief: "This libel law question is dead."[59]

The "country" publishers believed the libel problem (as well as most other problems) could be place on the doorstep of New York City. The New York Press Association legislative committee reported in 1897, "The trouble is that some of the metropolitan journals--of the yellow variety--scandalize members of the legislature without discrimination....We cannot expect legislatures to pass laws to relieve these journals from the results of their lies and vilification's."[60]

Conclusion

Preliminary analysis of the newspaper industry's campaign for lible reform in the late 19th-century shows organized campaigns for libel reform in a large number of states. In each instance the state press associations took a leading role; however, it appears that the publishers met with stiff opposition and in most of the states were either unsuccessful or settled for compromise legislation.

The focus of the publishers' concerns was framed in economic terms rather than in freedom-of-the-press terms. While publishers would make reference to the freedom of the press, the major complaints about libel law focused on the cost of litigation and the nucience of litigation.

Editorial concerns did affect the campaigns, but the primary effect appears to have been negative. The New York experience, where the New York City papers were attacking members of the legislature at the same time the NYPA was lobbying for libel reform suggests the complexity of the political environment.

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[58] *New York Press Association 46th Annual Convention* (Dansville, NY: 1903): 109.

[59] *40th Annual Meeting of the New York Press Association* (Danville, N.Y., 1896): 57.

[60] "Report of the Legislative Committee," *40th Annual Meeting of the New York Press Association* (Danville, N.Y., 1897): 39-41.

This paper begins to examine the history of the libel reform in the late-19th century. While closer examination of the period is needed, before strong connections can be drawn, it is worth noting that 100 years later, some advocates of libel reform are once again looking to legislative solutions to the libel problems of the late-20th century.

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Partisan News in the Nineteenth-Century:

Detroit's Dailies in the Reconstruction Era, 1865-1876

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Partisan News in the Nineteenth-Century:
Detroit's Dailies in the Reconstruction Era, 1865-1876

For most of the nineteenth-century American newspapers deliberately adopted a public posture of loyalty to either the Democratic or Republican party. Newspapers were largely vehicles of partisan communication and persuasion.[1] The nature and extent of this partisanship have usually been left unexamined by journalism historians. Historians have treated the partisan press as an anachronistic relic, a transitional stage in journalism's development to modern, political independence.[2] In order to remedy this historical blindness my paper examines the content and rhetoric of Detroit's daily papers in the Reconstruction era. Such a content analysis will illuminate the way nineteenth-century newspapers worked to form and inform the political views of American citizens.

In the early Reconstruction Era, 1865-1872, an overwhelming preponderance of the news and editorials filling up the columns of the battling dailies was politically biased. Civil War issues were still paramount in the press and the polity, but the two parties defined them differently. As E. E. Schattschneider explains, "...[A]ntagonists can rarely agree on what the issues are...because the definition of the alternatives is the choice of conflicts, and the choice of conflicts allocates power."[3] By publicizing the policy positions that separated their party from the opposition party, the partisan press tried to consolidate and strengthen the alliance underlying their party and to splinter and weaken the opposed electoral coalition.

For the Republicans, the issues of course were the national union and treason. They perpetually tried to paint the Democrats as the party of the South and of secession and war, for which the citizens of the North had paid dearly with the blood of their boys. The Democrats, for their part, redefined all the terms of the conflict. Democrats insinuated that the war with its goal of Union and abolition of slavery had a secret motive: the establishment of a despotic government by Republicans in Washington, a centralized military state, held up by the support of ignorant black voters.[4] Detroit's two Democratic papers, the Free Press and the Daily Union, chose news stories to expose the deleterious consequences of Radical Republican Reconstruction policies. Detroit's two Republican papers, the Post and the Advertiser and Tribune, in turn, publicized events that demonstrated the continued recalcitrance of Southern whites and their lack of devotion to the Union. The political interests of the two parties determined the news agenda.[5]

But this formulation--that the news is chosen to highlight the policy divisions separating the two parties--does not fully capture the nature of the nineteenth-century's political journalism. It confines the operation of partisan news to overly restrictive categories. The idea of a selection (albeit politically biased) of pre-existing facts assumes a number of dichotomies and divisions derived from our contemporary, differentiated, professional press.

It takes for granted that newspapers merely provide factual information for the perusal and consideration by independent citizens. In the nineteenth-century, however, it is a mistake to separate the facts reported from the representations elaborated and constructed throughout the columns of the paper. Furthermore, it is difficult to distinguish the partisan news from the editorials with their accompanying set of evaluations and inflated rhetoric. For example, in the Reconstruction Era, Democratic papers selected news that negatively featured African-Americans. But, this news not only emphasized coverage of African-Americans, it depicted the newly freed citizens Blacks in harshly negative stereotypes. These stereotypes reflected more than the Democratic party's attempt to use strategically popular racial prejudices. They also helped to create the derogatory images of blacks held by most Northern whites. To explore in more detail the nature of the nineteenth-century's partisan press I turn to the Reconstruction period's representation of the newly emancipated African-Americans.

The African-American in Reconstruction Era Partisan Rhetoric

The status of the African-American, whether as freedman or slave, was a central issue through which partisan politics was articulated in the 1860s and early 1870s.[6] The rights and duties of black Americans, their nature and capacities, their social situation and economic disabilities, were all grist for the partisan polemic mill. Moreover, partisan news of the Reconstruction era did not stop with the advocacy of national congressional policies for southern blacks, nor with criticism of the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan. It encompassed more than views on the proper economic and political relations between the races in the South and on the role of the federal troops in unreformed southern state governments. Indeed, the specific physical body of black Americans became a central symbol for the general depiction of the nature, disorders and promises of American society.[7]

Images of blacks pervaded the Democratic newspapers and were not confined to any single page or genre whether editorial, fiction or telegraphic news dispatch. For example, the Detroit Daily Union, the junior Democratic daily of Detroit, in my sampled issue in the presidential election season of 1868 carried the following array of articles:

-a local crime story headlined "Brutal Murder by Negroes"
-a celebration of a local boy claiming affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan
-an editorial referring to the Republican goals of "the political supremacy of the negro."
-an editorial attacking Republican presidential nominee Grant for his views on negro suffrage.
-an anecdote caricaturing a wedding of African-Americans replete with dialect speech.
-a letter to the editor attacking Republican newspapers distortion of the "temper, desires and views of Southern whites."
-a reprinted article from the South entitled "Beauties of Jacobinism" which impugns southern blacks and "yankee carpetbaggers"
-a reprinted letter to the editor which discusses "indolent negroes" and the election.[8]

The issue of blacks came up repeatedly in the political struggles in the North from the Civil War until the end of Reconstruction, and not only in relation to Southern policies. Michigan, like other Northern states, had to confront the possibility of enfranchising their local black population which, however minimal in size (1-2%,) seemed to stimulate the active animus of a majority of whites. Between the war's end and the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in April 1870, northern states repeatedly rejected extending the franchise to their native black populations. Michigan, an overwhelmingly Republican state, defeated in Spring 1868 a state constitutional charter amendment that promised to remove racial restrictions on the electorate. The vote was 39.3% in favor and 60.7% opposed. Such defeats along with the resurgence of the Democrats in the 1867 elections motivated "the Democracy" to play the race card again in 1868.[9] The Michigan Democratic platform for the Fall 1868 election promised "to keep this country as our fathers made it, a white man's government."[10] But national and state-wide Democratic losses in 1868 and the _de facto_ establishment of black suffrage through the Fifteenth Amendment convinced Michigan Democrats to acquiesce to the black vote. In 1870, when a state charter amendment came up to bring the state constitution in line with national law (as embodied in the Fifteenth Amendment,) it drew little partisan attention and fewer votes.[11]

A second local issue through which the status of blacks was contested was the integration of Detroit's public schools. Between 1867 when the state legislature ruled segregation illegal and 1871 when the Detroit School board finally capitulated, school segregation was a simmering issue, repeatedly editorialized upon by the Democratic newspapers and occasionally erupting in confrontation between the Republican state authorities and Democratic city officials.[12]

Despite these local and the national conflicts, the Democratic odium directed towards blacks cannot be said to derive from the actual threat of black suffrage. True, in the South the lack of black political rights was used by congressional Republicans to exclude southern states and their likely Democratic votes from national elections. But in Michigan, the small black population (1%) was not large enough to decide any state contests. The centrality of the black population cannot explain the obsessive reference to them in Michigan politics.

For the Democratic party, "Black Abolitionist Republicans" and their Civil War and Reconstruction policies were evidently darkly stained by a too close proximity to the black man. (The Democrat paper, the San Francisco Examiner, labelled its political adversaries, "the chocolate papers.") Since the origin of the Republican party, the expression "black Republican" had become standard Democratic invective. For example, Wilbur Storey, editor of the main Michigan Democratic organ from 1853 to 1861, the Detroit Free Press, and later editor of the important partisan and sensationalist journal the Chicago Times "insisted that the Republican Party was always to be referred to as'Black Republican' Party" in the columns of his paper.[13] The expression, because of its polemical edge, implied a measure of political orthodoxy whether pronounced by a Democrat or a Republican. Thus, Free Press managing editor William Quinby, upon hiring future Detroit mayor John Lodge in 1883, invoked this cliche of partisan rhetoric to communicate clearly to Lodge the partisan rules of the newspaper game.[14]

> This is the Democratic state organ. Your father is one of the leading Republicans of the state, and of course you are a Republican also. I want you to see to it that you do not inject any of your Black Republican principles into what you write for the paper.[15]

References to blacks pervaded the discourse of the Democratic party and its affiliated journals (in a manner reminiscent of the veiled racism in our current political speech.)[16] As Jean Baker says:

> ...[N]o matter where they began, Democratic set speeches invariably ended with blacks as the reason for higher taxes and tariff, the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, inflationary greenbacks, and Republican corruption. The Democrats looked at currency and saw the Negro, reviewed the impeachment and ended with the Negro, debated the purchase of Alaska and concluded with the Negro.[17]

Or as the Republican San Francisco Chronicle wrote in June 17, 1869:

> The Democratic Party just now seems to be based entirely upon shins, facial angles, elongated tibias and kinky hair. Without this capital, the party couldn't last a week.

Blacks were thus part of an intricate and convoluted set of representations elaborated by the Democratic party.

Let us untangle some of this imagery; According to Democrats, the project to free the Negro was illegitimate and to give him the right to vote an absurd endeavor. On the basis of his physical-racial nature the Negro was a foolish, superstitious child. He lacked the reason and the self-control to participate in whiteman's republican government. As the Free Press intoned, "this inferior race is [not] capable of managing affairs of state..." African-Americans were "a degraded race of ignorant, semi-savages..."[18]

Such partisan sentiments were reinforced by a hammering repetition. On subsequent days the Free Press wrote:

> "[the Republicans] have given the ballot to 4 million of ignorant, incompetent negroes..." (May 10th, 1868, p.2)
>
> "an ignorant population" (May 12th)
>
> "ignorance and the most inferior of all races" (May 12th, p.4 col.4, a reprinted editorial)
>
> "ignorant negroes" (May 14th p.2.)
>
> "ignorance and vice are placed over intelligence and virtue--the inferior race is made the superior" (May 14th p.2.)
>
> "the white men of the South were deprived of all voice in public affairs while ignorant blacks, fresh from the field.." (May 20th)
>
> "It has placed the ballot in the hands of those negroes, ignorant and unfit as they are" (May 23rd)
>
> "the salvation of the blacks depends upon the infamy of putting the southern whites under the rule of ignorant blacks..." (May 25th)

And on our sampled day--

> "the semi-barbarous African" (October 15, 1868 p.2)
>
> "an inferior and uneducated people, who know nothing of their own, let alone the rights and wants of their fellow man." (October 15th, p.4)

To remove the black from the natural hierarchy of races, to remove the slave from white control, was to open up the possibility for license by those incapable of the self-restraint necessary for liberty. The natural outcome of such a lack of internal or external control was, in the jargon of the day, "outrages:" black attacks on whites, especially white women. Such outrages were repeatedly described in the Democratic press and were a politically motivated news selection, part of the partisan driven news agenda.

Thus, for example, our sampled issue of the Detroit Union of October 15, 1868 reports a local crime headed "Brutal Murder by Negroes". And, on Jan 1, 1868 the Union reprinted this story from the Democratic New York Times:

> Outrage By A Negro In Maryland Upon A White Woman
>
> Late on Sunday afternoon a most violent outrage was committed by a negro man on a most estimable married lady, in Hartford County, Maryland...This is the fourth or fifth affair of this kind which has happened in this county within the past year, in which negroes have been the actors and white women the sufferers. In this instance..."

Meanwhile, throughout May 1868, the Free Press publicized "depredations" occurring in the South, news of which was transmitted to them via the wire service and exchanged Southern Democratic newspapers.

> THE SOUTH.
>
> Official Report of the Florida Elections
>
> ...TERRIBLE TRAGEDY IN ARKANSAS
>
> A MAN AND FOUR CHILDREN MURDERED BY A NEGRO...
>
> At a small town called Lincoln...which was settled by freedmen, a negro named Cochrane was detected by another named Wm. Babcock in illicit intercourse with his wife and attacked him. Cochrane killed Babcock in the encounter and immediately took up with Babcock's wife who had four children. Next day all the children were found in the swamp with their throats cut...Ike Martin...informed the civil authorities who have laid the matter before the military. Cochrane is not yet arrested.
>
> NEGRO SHOT AND ARRESTED...[etc.]...
>
> THE STORM...[etc.]
>
> DEPREDATIONS COMMITTED BY NEGROES
>
> Seven negroes attempted to enter [a] cotton shed on Washington street last night . They were fired upon by the watchmen...[etc][19]

As Slotkin suggests, the not-so-veiled logic informing the news selections is spelled out in repetitious detail on the editorial page. In the month of May, the problem of "negro outrages" is invoked in editorials on May 9th and 10th but the most full statement of the logic is spewed out on May 31st in the following fantasy/editorial.[20]

> "THE TRUE CONDITION OF THE AFRICANIZED SOUTH"
>
> The effect of the policy pursued by the Congressional majority in the South can be seen by the condition of that section. In all the late [state constitutional] conventions negro delegations were admitted, and their action has brought disgrace and ridicule upon the nation. Propositions of the most indefensible and monstrous character have been submitted and argued by these men...Two ideas seemed to control the negroes. One was hatred of the white people among whom they reside; the other, to obtain a living without labor...[I]n the constitutions framed by them it is the vital element, in every day life they carry out this platform. Outrages upon white men, women and children are now common occurrences. Scarce a paper comes from that section without containing accounts of offenses committed by negroes at which the heart sickens and blood runs cold. Lesser crimes...are multiplied ten fold since the inauguration of negro equality. Bands of idle and worthless blacks pass through all the country plundering, destroying and burning...Behind these lawless blacks stand the Loyal Leagues [a governmental agency to insure for Blacks the right to vote], and then comes Congress and the Radical party...[etc.][21]

Much earlier, in 1863, the Free Press had publicized and polemicized over the crimes of a black man accused of outraging a young white woman. Years later all the major witnesses to the crime recanted their testimony, but at the time, the Free Press saw fit to headline its article "Horrible Outrage...A negro entraps a little girl into his room and commits fiendish crime upon her person...Full history of the shocking event."[22] Once the defendant was pronounced guilty, a share of Detroit's white community went on a rampage described in the pitiful 1863 account: "A Thrilling Narrative from the Lips of the Sufferers of the Late Detroit Riot, March 6, 1863." In the course of the riot several of Detroit's blacks died, many were beaten and hundreds left homeless.[23] Commenting on the riot the Free Press editorialized,

> We regret the mob. If our voice could have controlled it, it never should have occurred; but what could Democrats do when the Abolition press were raising heaven and earth to claim the rights of white men to the experiment of nigger liberty.[24]

The Detroit riot was a pale echo of other Northern anti-draft riots of 1863, such as the New York City riot which claimed over one hundred lives. Such riots were triggered by popular resentment over the draft, high taxes to support the war, and the (largely mythical) threat of black economic competition in hard economic times. But as Jean Baker notes the anti-draft riots quickly turned into mob attacks on blacks who "appeared as a diablo ex machina" to governmental Civil War policies. Such popular mob action was fueled by the overheated rhetoric of Democrat newspapers and orators, which portrayed blacks as malignant creatures--a threat to the social, political and economic foundations of the social order.[25]

The political consequences of this selection of the news and its rhetorical treatment were neither hidden nor implicit for the Democratic editors and readers. As the Union's weekly "Letter from New York" makes plain:

> The constantly recurring intelligence of NEGRO OUTRAGES in the South does a great deal towards strengthening the Democracy in this section of the country.[26]

Such stories, as the Union suggested, were important for deepening the political cleavages that defined the two parties, and for consolidating the partisan loyalties of Democrats and Republicans.

The purpose of this news was partly to point to the Black Americans' lack of capacity for self-rule and partly to counter the massive Republican production of news reports of a reign of Ku Klux Klan terror in the South.[27] Given the biological and cultural deficit that precluded blacks from exercising self-control and autonomous reason, Democrats believed that black participation as equals in political rule would not work. Moreover, the Democratic papers suggested, this failure in political democracy was the secret goal of the Radical Republicans in Congress. Blacks, as necessarily dependent and incapable of participating independently in republican government, would require the perpetual help of the Republican party and the permanent tutelage of governmental services. Under the control and direction of the Republican party, they would vote for this despotic Radical/Republican government.

Blacks were part of a deliberate plan to despoil republican government and the natural rights of free born whites. Thus, the Detroit Free Press drew the invidious, but not coincidental, comparison between Republican policies in the South and North.

> The party that demands that the elective franchise shall be extended to the ignorant negroes of the South, stands equally ready to disfranchise the intelligent voter of a city of the North.[28]

And Democratic newspapers repeatedly reiterated that the Republican goal was not Negro equality but superiority. As the

Union explained, the victory by General Grant in the election of 1868 was sure to be taken by Republicans as proof "that the people demand Reconstruction upon the basis of a military dictatorship under congress and the political supremacy of the Negro."[29] Generally, says Alexander Saxton, the moralistic claims of abolitionists were regarded with suspicion, as stalking horses for the deprivation of white, working-class rights.[30]

The violation of the proper social roles could only have occurred through excessive political power. Therefore, the Free Press equates the Congressional Republicans with French Jacobins and suggests: "Is it not strange that an influence so terribly destructive of sound morality as the rule of Radicalism has not broken up the foundation of civil society."[31] And the Detroit Union in publishing its annual proclamation of principles or "prospectus" rapidly linked governmental despotism to the civil rights of black Americans:

> The Union opposes the centralization of governmental power; Opposes the supremacy of the military over the civic jurisdiction; Opposes the enfranchisement and social equality of the black race by Congressional activity.[32]

Thus, were linked what one historian of the Free Press calls Editor Storey's central political tenents--"racism and states rights."[33]

Imagery of the childlike, permanent dependence of blacks pervaded Democratic accounts, including their criticism of any governmental help to newly independent African-americans starting out without land, tools or capital. African-Americans were seen as seeking "to obtain a living without labor." In this context, the

Democrats launched an attack on the Freedmen's Bureau, a government agency in charge of distributing aid to newly freed southern blacks and some whites.[34] Thus the Free Press editorializes on May 10, 1868:

> They feel certain that with the help of the entire treasury...the army, the Freedman's Bureau and 4 million of negroes they can perpetuate their power indefinitely...

On May 31st it opined:

> Behind these lawless blacks stand the Loyal League and then comes Congress. Clothing and food are supplied them by the Freedmen's Bureau and thus equipped [the blacks] are prepared to act as the ready and willing tools of the conspirators at Washington.

During the same time, the Democratic journal presented a front-page, verbatim account of the Michigan State Democratic Convention and reported various indictments made against the Republicans.

> [The Republicans] declared white men disloyal until the contrary was proved, and declared all black men loyal without proof; it used federal power to control suffrage in the states; it established a Freedmen's Bureau to feed and clothe the blacks as pensioners on the national bounty...[35]

Such imagery drew on the classical Jacksonian cultural repertoire that attacked both "corrupt" governmental institutions and indolent people of color using familial imagery. This Democratic imagery of the freed blacks paralleled historical depictions of Indians. In Michael Rogin's psychological account:

> The myth of the West establishes male independence through violence against [Indians] bad children of nature too closely, maternally bound. Imposing private property against communally living on the land, Indian policy makers hypostasized the bounded ego of the self-made man. Indian freedom by contrast, would have to succumb to self-restraint, hard work and emulation for

> these were, from the perspective of the dominant culture, the requisites of maturity.[36]

Democrats wished to separate the Negro in the South from the too easy support of the maternal government and subject him to the harsh discipline of his paternalistic master--the white elite in the South.

In Democrat rhetoric, Republicans desired to disrupt the natural laws governing the social order by placing blacks in a position of superiority for which they were racially unfit. Blacks, as Jean Baker expounds, bore through their skin color the visible sign of their inferiority. Black skin as a natural attribute pointed to blacks' natural social position as inferior to whites.[37] Thus the epithet "Black Republican" and the continual recourse to the Negro in Democratic stump speeches emphasized the social disorder being introduced by the political reign of Radical Republicans.

As mentioned previously, Free Press owner Storey had ordered his editorial staff to always refer to the opposed party as the Black Republican party. About Storey one historian writes,

> His vitriol was unequaled...when he turned his attention to the Republicans and the abolitionist movement. He called the Republican party "this monster of frightful mien -- this party made up of white abolitionists, black abolitionists, and fugitives from slavery--this rabble of discord and destruction."[38]

Storey's use of the expression "monster" in this context is not accidental. After all, a monster is defined as "any animal or plant that is out of the usual course of nature" and the word derives from the Latin for divine warning against the violation of god-given natural law.[39] Here we see the imagery of boundary mixing, a disordering of natural categories that consequently results in the creation of a monster, a Frankenstein.

This preoccupation with the violation of natural categories perhaps explains why Democrats and the Detroit Free Press obsessively returned again and again to the issue of black-white "amalgamation" and why Democrats equated the granting of political and civil rights to African-Americans with "an indiscriminate, unnatural, loathsome and hated sexual union of the races."[40]

The fear of miscegenation revealed in part anxieties over the blurring of sharply defined, supposedly natural, racial differences. The hysteria pointed to the shakiness of the socially erected edifice of a black/white racial dichotomy. This racial system smoothly classified individuals into categories, defined their place in the social hierarchy, and justified white power over blacks, as well as securing the identity of white males in opposition to blacks.[41]

The normally vitriolic rhetoric of the Free Press reached new extremes in this news story in which there is a double violation of the Free Press' ideological premises: first, improper black-white sex, and secondly a white woman freely consenting to wed an avaricious black. Reporting on the elopement of a "white girl with a negro," the Free Press reporter added this observation:

> [T]he girl is forever lost to decency and respect. Even should her separation from her negro paramou be eternal, the finger of scorn would be pointed to her, to her dying day, as a white woman who disgraced her

> sex and common decency by consenting to become the wife of a black, ugly looking, disgusting negro.[42]

To summarize the political content of the Detroit daily papers so far, the Democratic party through the vehicle of its loyal press organs and stump speeches offered the voters a complex depiction of the problems of American society and, with this portrait, an indictment of the rule of the Republican party and its misguided policies. Republicans in turn waved the "bloody shirt." They emphasized that the Democrats had defended the secession of the South, which resulted in so much spilt blood, and that they had suspect loyalties in the war. Republican and Democratic journals faithfully repeated these party lines, although they doubtlessly innovated in this editorial or improvised in that news story.[43] Their editorial pronouncements took up the unfolding events in Congress and in the South and encapsulated them in the political philosophy of the party in daily reiterated arguments.

Shanto Ingeyar recently pointed to the overwhelming bias of current news reporting practices towards the "episodic" over the "thematic." The news of today, he claims, neglects to contextualize events in an overarching interpretation, a framework that can help explain the events' occurrence. Journalism of the nineteenth-century surely suffered from the opposite malady--the rigorous explanation (as well as selection) of events according to a generalized political picture. Last century's press thematized events, not just by contextualizing them in a broader framework, but also by consistent reiteration, or hammering home of a "theme." Using social events as their examples, partisan papers sought to demonstrate vividly the pervasive effects of party rule. The society was politicized and the news followed from this politicized context. Events were publicized and explained by reference to actions of political agencies. Events were thus incorporated into plots in which the main protagonists were parties. In this way the daily journals presented strongly opposed images of the nature of American society and emphatically denounced the consequences of the other party's rule.

Popular Culture and the Party Agenda

But if newspaper news choices followed the dictates of party interests, what determined the particular appeal of party policies and propaganda? What determined the cleavages that divided the electoral pie between Democrats and Republicans? Party appeals and coalitions were not simply manufactured out of whole cloth. Ignoring for the moment the interests of entrenched political office holders and the influence of wealth, parties appealed to inherited coalitions, which needed to be shored up, and to potential voters dissatisfied with their current political alliances. For example, Alexander Saxton explains that the Democrats' racist ideology fulfilled a number of functions, foremost of which was the party's dependence on its southern wing and the consequent need to defend slavery.[44] But here I sidestep most of these questions in order to address the popular cultural sources of the Democratic press' political appeals.

Jean Baker and Saxton can both point to the Democratic party's drawing upon, and reiterating, the racialist discourse of a commercial popular culture. Democratic orators and journals could strategically utilize already existing cultural resources in their efforts to split the available vote in ways detrimental to the Republicans. They deployed a repertoire of stereotypical representations of blacks which had been extensively produced by popular commercial culture for the mass entertainment and amusement of whites since the 1840s. As Baker tells us, minstrel shows, were "the preferred entertainment of the northern working-class from 1840 to 1880." Minstrelsy, along with lithographs, songs, et cetera, rendered in concrete and comprehensible form the "abstract notions Northerners held about blacks."[45] Whites performing in black-face created vivid and supposedly authentic portrayals of the lives, behavior and character of blacks. White audiences may have confused these contrived imitations--crude projective stereotypes--with real black lives.[46]

Democratic newspapers drew upon popular entertainment conventions and mixed fact with fiction, popular humor and its mimicry of blacks with the news. Typically, journalistic claims of first-hand observation and factual reporting of black behavior conformed to popular cultural conventions of presenting amusing, immature, foolish and superstitious African-Americans.[47]

The Free Press in 1871 reported this incident from the regular news beat of the Detroit court house.

> The case of Elijah Coombs, secretary of the Lincoln Hall Association, a political club composed of blacks...came up for trial before Judge Boynton yesterday. The want of harmony in the camp was occasioned by the alleged incompetence of the

> secretary, and his refusal to deliver his books in obedience to a vote of the association.
>
> ...According to a disinterested witness, "Uncle Josh took hole of Coombs and keerfully laid him down on de flor an' Mr. Sorrel, de President, took the books 'way from him." Mr. Coombs 'lowed as he was gwine to cut his livers out and Mr. Prater 'taliated by remarking something 'bout clubbin' Coombs' brains out."[48]

The use of caricatured dialect is designed to heighten the distance of the narrator (and his reading audience) from the black speaker. The quoted black is an unsophisticated primitive who speaks only in order to mangle syntax while his political club deliberates solely for the purpose of exposing its incapacity to engage in reasoned discussion. The narrator juxtaposes in an ironic manner his own formal, correct language to the informal, childish language of the quoted "disinterested witness."[49] While the blacks are depicted as a primitive other, they pose no threat but instead are material for comic entertainment. Interestingly enough, this brief news item was probably the original source for the comic column "the Lime Kiln Club," which was a featured attraction at the Free Press from 1881 until 1891.[50]

In another later example, the Detroit Evening News, an independent journal with sometimes Democratic sympathies, titled one news story "Doctah Clawk." The headline with its caricatured speech patterns already prepares the reader for this genre of humorous, descriptive feature.[51] The sub-head "He Propounds His Views on State, National, and International Law" points to the pomposity of Doctah Clark. Clark, who is on his way to a political convention, is mocked as a self-absorbed and garrulous child, a parody of independent political reasoning. He is irredeemably tied to his "Ethiopian" physical nature.

> ...The reporter explained that he was a NEWS man, en route to the convention. He made a wrong move in so doing, although the game came out all right in the end.
>
> Oh, well, you know me," said the colored gentleman. "My name is Clawk--Doctor Clawk--you know me for years."
>
> "I should say so," said the reporter, with an aspect of reverential awe. "I have heard your name mentioned as a candidate for the legislature."
>
> The doctor's body dilated visibly, and his face exhibited that genuine gratification which can only be expressed by the facial muscles of the Ethiopian.
>
> "My name, sah, has been mentioned. But I don't care about it. I'm a man that is animated by principle. I go to all the meetings and lectures and political speeches, and I hear everything. I hear a republican speech, and I note it. I hear a democratic speech, and I note it. Then I balance 'em." The doctor swayed his body, and lifted his hands like a grocery scale. "I balance 'em, see."...[52]

Baker suggests that Democrats mined the dark depths of popular culture to produced electoral gold.

> Popular culture, a neglected expression of the historically voiceless, not only defined the nature of the Negro's inferiority but also provided a domain within which Democrats developed specific public policies. By using its language and symbols, party leaders linked popular sentiments to party agenda.[53]

But the party and its press did not merely "employ," "play on," "borrow from," "drew on" and reiterate the values and views of a popular culture, as Baker asserts.[54] Rather, they actively sowed, cultivated and harvested these stereotypical images of blacks. Throughout its columns (in such examples as above,) Detroit's Democratic press actively constructed blacks as objects of disdain and derision. More generally, as Saxton suggests, popular cultural conventions were influenced by the Democratic party. The founders of minstrelsy were disproportionately Democratic.[55] In the case of newspapers, the merging of popular cultural conventions and party agenda was smoothly melded in humorous, fictional columns.

Alongside racist "news" and "sketches," which mixed in unequal proportions the creative talents of the writer with the strategic agenda of the party and the popular prejudices of the citizenry, were regular humor columns that featured black characters. The Democratic Free Press became specifically renowned for the weekly comic column of Charles B. Lewis under the pseudonym M. Quad. M. Quad's most famous column "Brother Gardner's Lime Kiln Club" provided a broad comic burlesque of the antics and reasoning of a black social club in debate and deliberation over such topics as the aesthetics of barber poles, the number of dogs owned by Detroit's colored population, and "de goneness of de past."[56] One contemporary of M. Quad remarks:

> "The Lime Kiln Club" purported to be the discussion of a group of colored gentlemen with odd names like "Give-a-damn-Jones," etc. of various local types. Its dialect was not of the genuine Southern negro but near enough to that of the Northern to make it interesting and amusing.[57]

M. Quad's column along with that of fellow writer Barr's "Luke Sharp" achieved for the Free Press a national reputation as suggested by Harper's in an 1888 survey of "Western Journalism."

> The Free Press may be said to have a dual character--to be sort of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in journalism. It is a strong Democratic newspaper... this for its local

> constituency; it is also a weekly literary and family paper, with a funny department that has given it a reputation and circulation in every part of the United States...The writer of the most popular humorous articles and sketches for the Free Press is Charles B. Lewis [whose nom-de-plume is M. Quad]...the expectation of finding something funny in the "Bijah" or "Lime Kiln Club" papers may cause one to buy it to read upon the cars or in a leisure hour.[58]

Charles B. Lewis' column rode the crest of a wave of humorists which emerged in the 1850s and swept over the pages of American journalism in the second half of the century.[59] Such humorists included Marcus M. ("Brick") Pomeroy and Artemus Ward. While M. Quad was syndicated in Democratic newspapers across the country, equally partisan comics lambasted the Democratic party in the Republican press.[60] One such column was David Locke's "The Struggles of Petroleum V. Nasby" consisting of letters from an almost illiterate "copperhead" who resided at "Confederit X Roads," Kentucky. Nasby was "[illiterate,] hypocritical, cowardly, loafing, lying, dissolute."[61] Locke would wickedly lampoon Nasby's writing and speech as the crude dialect of a poor Southern white Democrat, a sort of mirror of the speech being attributed by Democrat humorists to blacks. Locke's Nasby paraded typical Democratic views such as negrophobia and a hatred for the Union, opinions which in Nasby's case, as archetypical Democrat, were taken to be a product of ignorance, foolishness and partisan venality. As popular tradition has it, Nasby kept up the spirits of the President during the war. Lincoln would insist on reading various comic tidbits from the latest Nasby to his cabinet.[62]

While The Lime Club did not start officially until 1881, M. Quad did humor parodies of blacks starting from 1869 and his column was largely derivative of other humorists who did Democratic pieces such as Artemus Ward and Marcus M. ("Brick") Pomeroy. Part and parcel of this vogue of newspaper comedy was a tradition of comic burlesque of blacks. According to Kenneth O' Reilley:

> During the postwar years the freedman often found himself and his speech patterns caricatured by southern writers. Northern writers spurred by a growth of "Negrophobia," soon followed suit and Lewis emerged as one of the first and most widely read writers to caricature Northern negro speech.[63]

Conclusion

Throughout the period of Reconstruction, Democrats and Republicans fought over the right to lead our country. They battled for the hearts and minds of American voters by presenting opposed policies for the post bellum South and contrasting images of Black Americans. Journalism's close ties with the political system meant that the polarized rhetoric of the two parties was imported into the pages of Detroit's dailies. One of the central propaganda ploys of the Democrats was the continual, vicious portrayal of the newly enfranchised African American citizens. Detroit's Democratic journals followed suit by editorializing against blacks, by selecting news that depicted the supposed negative consequences of Republican Southern policies, and by an elaboration of stereotyped imagery of the emancipated Blacks. However, by 1876 a combination of reasons including enduring popular prejudices convinced the Republican Party to abandon their Reconstruction policies.[64] In effect the Republicans acceded to the racist depictions promulgated by the Democratic media. After 1876, Black Americans were no longer a political issue dividing

Democratic journals from Republican. Black citizens retained their public-journalistic presence only as the object of comic parody as the humor tradition developed by M. Quad and minstrelsy spread across the pages of the press without apparent regard for the journal's partisan preferences.

[1] For some summary descriptions of these partisan newspapers in the context of the general, partisan political culture see Richard Jensen, "Armies, Admen and Crusaders," *The History Teacher* (January 1969); Michael E. McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics; The American North, 1865-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) chs. 1 and 5.

[2] Michael Schudson criticizes such "natural" evolutionary approaches to journalism history. But he too mistakenly confines the party press to the early 1800s and he sees the political press as not really part of modern United States, which he defines as a "democratic, market society." See his *Discovering the News*, (New York, Basic Books, 1978) ch. 1.

[3] Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People* p. Walker

[4] "More Americans identified the cause of the Republican party with the cause of the Union than wanted Negroes to vote. It was for this latter reason that the Democrats were the party that talked incessantly of blacks". David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981) p.84.

[5] In conducting my content analysis of Detroit's daily newspapers I constructed a stratified sample. A copy of the October 15th issue of all journals was analyzed for the presidential election years, 1868-1920. An issue of all dailies was analyzed in the electoral off-season 1867-1919 (February 15th of the year preceding the presidential election year.) Also see the elaboration of Democratic party ideology in Jean Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.)

[6] Kenneth Burgess-Jackson argues instead that "constitutional issues" were the "most fundamental issue" of partisan dispute of this period. See his "Democracy Versus Republicanism: Detroit Press Reaction to the Reconstruction Act of 1867," *Southern Studies* V.1, no.4 (Winter 1990) pp.306, 311.

[7] Baker, *Affairs of Party*, p.257.

[8] *Detroit Daily Union* Oct. 15, 1868.

[9] Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977) pp.71, 81 on the 1867 results.

[10] Harriette Dilla, *The Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878* (New York: Columbia University, 1912) pp.92-3.

[11] Willis Dunbar and William Shade, "The Black Man Gains the Vote: The Centennial of "Impartial Suffrage" in Michigan," *Michigan History* V.56, no.1 (1972) pp.53-5.

[12] David Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973) pp.84-90 and 22-25.

[13] Frank Angelo, *On Guard: A History of the Detroit Free Press* (Detroit: Detroit Free Press, 1981) p.65 and James E. Scripps, "Wilbur F. Storey, Detroit's's First Great Journalist" *Detroit News-Tribune* (Sept. 16, 1900) p.14.

[14] For example, William Allen White, the famous Kansas City editor, in his 1946 autobiography writes "...and my mother, loyal to her dead husband and still a black abolitionist Republican who feared the rebels..." to indicate the strength of his mother's political convictions. And to describe his boss' partisan loyalties: "He was a stalwart, wool dyed black radical Republican who was still fighting the battles of the Civil War." William Allen White, *The Autobiography of William Allen White*, (New York: MacMillan Co., 1946) pp. 163, 207.

[15] John C. Lodge with the collaboration of M. M. Quaife, *I Remember Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1949) pp. 56 and 60.

[16] See Stuart Alan Clarke, "Fear of a Black Planet," *Socialist Review* V.91 no.3-4 (July 1991); Thomas B. Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, "When the official subject is presidential politics, taxes, welfare, crime, rights or values...the real subject is Race," *Atlantic Monthly* (May 1991.)

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[17] Baker, Affairs of Party, p.256; Keller, Affairs of State pp.51-2, 81-3.

[18] Free Press May 9 and 10, 1868.

[19] Free Press May 30, 1868.

[20] I extensively scrutinized the pages of the Free Press in May 1868 to determined the repetition and continuit of news-editoiral motifs. "The most respectable residents leave and their places are supplied by adventurers who encourage negroes to commit the greatest outrages." May 9, 1868, p.2 c2. They fear for their wives and children, for their material prosperity..." May 10, 1868.

[21] Free Press, May 31, 1868, p.2 col.2.

[22] Angelo, On Guard pp.86-7 cites the Free Press of Feb. 27, 1863.

[23] This account is presented in Melvin Holli (ed.) Detroit (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976) pp.86-92 and cf. other accounts of the Detroit Riot in James McPherson (ed.) Anti-Negro Riots of the North, 1863 (New York: Arno Press, 1969) pp.1-24; and Milton A. McRae, Forty Years in Newspaperdom (New York: Bretano's Inc., 1924) pp.4-5..

[24] Quoted in the preface of McPherson (ed.) Anti-Negro Riots p.iv.

[25] See the account of the New York riot in Montgomery, Beyond Equality pp.102-7. "Military suppression of strikes, greenback inflation, the specter (for it was never more than that) of liberated Negroes flocking North, and the ubiquitous draft--what could have been better grist for the Coppery [i.e. Democratic] mill?...[At a Fourth of July rally against conscription] Copperhead orators pounded home the themes that the government's war effort was undermining the Constitution, that conscription claimed the lives of the poor in a rich man's war, and that emancipated Negroes were flooding the North." p.102.

[26] Daily Union October 13, 1868.

[27] See for example the Union's commentary on the Post's coverage of elections in the South, Nov. 6 1868, p.2. Montgomery tells of the impact of such news reports on Northern Republicans in 1866. Beyond Equality, pp.69-70.

[28] Feb. 15, 1867 and Oct. 15, 1868 p.2. col.s 2 and 3.

[29] Oct. 15, 1868.

[30] Alexander Saxton, The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) pp. 27, 132-6. Keller discusses fears of "money-power." Affairs of State pp.51-2.

[31] Quote from the Free Press of Feb. 15, 1867. References to the Republicans as "Jacobins" in the Free Press of Oct. 15, 1868.

[32] Union Dec. 15, 1868.

[33] Angelo, On Guard, p.72

[34] Quoted from the Free Press May 31, 1868 . Other attacks on the Freedmen's Bureau in the Free Press in May 1868 besides those quoted below are May 4, p2c2 and May 28, 1868. Also see Dec. 18, 1868. Other payoffs to blacks are mentioned May 20, 1868, p2c3.

[35] Free Press May 31, 1868, p.1.

[36] Michael Rogin, p. 14. Of course, northern Republicans too were motivated by republican imagery to try and impose a model of disciplined liberal society on the bad social relations of the South. See Eric Foner, ch.2; Burgess-Jackson "Democracy Versus Republicanism," pp.37-8.

[37] Baker, Affairs of Party, p. 256.

[38] Angelo, On Guard, p.72.

[39] Clarence Thorndike (ed.) Thorndike-Barnhart Comprehensive Desk Dictionary (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1958.)

[40] See, for example, the Free Press of Jan. 23 p.4 and Jan. 29, 1867 p.4 and Feb. 9, 1867, p.4 as cited in Burgess-Jackson, "Democracy Versus Republicanism."

References to amalgamation were repetitiously invoked in the press, and indeed any black participation in politics was labelled miscegenation. For example, the state governments of the South that permitted Black participation were called in the Free Press variously "miscegenation governments" May 14, p.2 and May 4, 1868 p.4; "mongrel constitution" May 9 p.2, col.2, May 10th p.2; "miscegenation constitution" May 12th p.2; "mongrel senators" May 20th p.2. Also on May 9th the Free Press editorialized against "...Hayti, Jamaica, Mexico or any other country which illustrates the evils of amalgamation."

as afloat in an Ohio Democratic parade graphically displayed this concern.

[41] Michael Rogin, Ronald Reagan: The Movie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) pp. 51-5 and 279; Susan Gillman, Dark Twins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) pp. 81-6; Eric J. Sundquist, "Mark Twain and Homer Plessy," Representations no.24 (Fall 1988). Furthermore, in Rogin's analysis, the sexualization and demonization of black men as uncontrollable rapists and white women as helpless, virtuous victims fulfilled the purpose of policing the boundaries and depriving both groups of power. pp.51-2.

[42] Angelo, On Guard, p.86 dopo 1861

[43] While the speeches reported verbatim by the Free Press often tried to cast the Republicans as the party of the corrupt rich who were trying to exploit political power for private gain, the Free Press rarely invoked such motifs in its editorials.

[44] Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," American Quarterly V.27, no.1 (1975) p.17.

[45] Baker, Affairs of Party p.214 and Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy," p.4.

[46] Ibid. pp.218, 220.

"White southerners, who lived in closer contact with blacks had no need to visualize..., but Northerners...What they saw...was their own imposition. With few exceptions blacks were not allowed on white stages..." p.218.

[47] Chapter 6 in Baker's Affairs of Party is an extensive catalogue of the conventions and logic of these stereotypes.

[48] Free Press Feb. 15, 1871.

[49] Cf. June Howard, Form and History in American Literary Naturalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985) pp.104-106.

[50] (To be discussed more later.) Charles Lewis, the author of comic column "The Lime Kiln Club," was a reporter at the Detroit Central Station Court early in his career according to Kenneth O'Reilly, "M. Quad and Brother Gardner: Negro Dialect and Caricature in Nineteenth Century Detroit," Detroit In Perspective V.3, no.2 (Winter 1979) p.119.

[51] As Frederic Jameson notes, "[A]mong the most important indices of generic expectations" are "the shifting in our distances from the characters, the transformation of the very categories through which we perceive characters..." Quoted in Howard, Form and History p.105.

[52] Detroit Evening News October 12, 1874, p.4. The News at this time was attacking Republican reconstruction policies.

[53] Baker, Affairs of Party p.213

[54] Quoted expressions from Baker, Affairs of Party pp. 252, 253 and 257.

[55] Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy."

[56] One collection among others of Lime-Kiln comedy columns is M. Quad (Charles B. Lewis,) Brother Gardner's Lime-Kiln Club (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1882.) Other columns of Charles Lewis are reprinted in Quad's Odds (Detroit, R.D.S. Tyler & Co., 1875.)

[57] Edward Holden, Little Journeys in Journalism: Recollections of Some Prominent Members of the Free Press Staff," Michigan History Magazine, V.11, no.3 (1927) p.424.

[58] Z. L. White "Western Journalism," *Harper's Magazine* V.77 (October 1888) p.690. And on the *Free Press*' reputation see O'Reilly, "M. Quad and Brother Gardner" p.130 and William White; Holden, "Recollections," pp.424, 428.

[59] George Catlin, "Adventures In Journalism: Detroit Newspapers Since 1850," *Michigan History Magazine* V.29, no.3 (July-Sept. 1945) pp.355 and 350; O'Reilly, "M. Quad and Brother Gardner" p.114.

[60] O'Reilly, "M. Quad and Brother Gardner" pp. 126-7. O'Reilly tells us that Charles B. Lewis' column the Lime Kiln Club lasted from 1877 to 1891 whereupon he departed from the *Free Press* for Pulitzer's Democratic *New York World*. In New York Lewis initiated a new feature parodying blacks which was titled "Cotton Blossoms." *The World* induced Lewis to leave Detroit with a salary reputed to be at least $8,000. DAB

[61] Keller, *Affairs of State* p.47. On the Democrat "Brick" Pomeroy see pp.49-50.

[62] Ibid., pp.47-9; Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937) pp.20-1.

[63] O'Reilly, "M. Quad and Brother Gardner" p. 117; Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy," p.26.

[64] The main reasons for the Republican Party's abandonment of Reconstruction are: the *de facto* seizure of control of most Southern state governments by whites; the displacement of "Radicals" from positions of power in Northern Republican parties; a lack of popular support for continued federal military intervention in the South; and lastly a new political philosophy articulated by the northern genteel intelligentsia that melded a racist social darwinism with economic liberalism. See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction* (New York: 1988) pp.483-4, 488-99; Keller, *Affairs of State*, ch.7.

"Pikadon (The Flash-Boom)": A Study of Press Coverage of the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

6 - 12 August, 1945

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I am sure that at the end of the world,
in the last millisecond of the earth's
existence, the last human will see what
we saw.

-George Kistiakowsky, Manhattan Project researcher,
after Trinity test explosion, July 16, 1945.

The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were, in terms of loss of life, the greatest man-made disasters the world has ever known. Authoritative estimates of the number of people killed by the blasts have ranged from as few as 30,000 in each city to as many as 140,000 in Hiroshima and 74,000 in Nagasaki. 1, 2 Unofficial published estimates place the totals even higher, with 250,000 killed and 150,000 wounded in Hiroshima and 120,000 killed and 80,000 wounded in Nagasaki. 3 Even today, the exact number of dead, injured and otherwise affected victims is not known, and some victims still suffer from bomb-related illnesses and injuries. 4

As the A-bomb survivors struggled to survive and to come to terms with their experience, a new word, "pikadon," was born into the Japanese language. The word "pikadon" is a Japanese compound noun which combines the word "pika," which roughly translates as 'flash of light,' and the word "don," which means 'boom.' 5 The word "pikadon," or 'flash-boom,' did describe the detonations of the two atomic bombs over Japan in 1945, but it also stands today as a metaphor for the bombings and the news coverage they received. Certainly the "pika" was the pair of bombings; two events during World War II that were so significant that no one could ignore them. The "don" was the resounding explosion of press coverage of the bombings. This roar of news, which still reverberates today, was the sound of the world entering the Atomic Age.

Destruction in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was extensive after the bombings. Wooden buildings and objects were incinerated or charred by the intense radiant heat. The tremendous blast pressure utterly destroyed heavy, steel-frame buildings. And residual radiation, which caused painful, lingering deaths for many survivors of both bombings, is suspected to claim victims from cancer even today. 6

Both Japanese and American news systems were in operation on the subject of Hiroshima immediately after the bombing, but they took different paths in presenting the reality of atomic weapons to their respective populations. The Japanese press generally discounted the effects of the first (and later the second bombing), while the American press touted the weapon as the instrument that would finally force the Japanese to concede defeat.

Though the respective press establishments of the two nations reported on the atomic bomb differently, one thing holds true for both nations; their governments consciously influenced their press organizations into covering up the true nature and power of atomic weapons. Press documents and historical records appear to indicate that the Japanese government largely discounted the devastation caused by the two atomic bombs in order to justify continuing the war against the Allies. Similar documentation of American policy and activity regarding the A-bomb shows that the scope of its explosive and thermal force, as well as the existence of dangerous and persistent radioactive fallout were generally ignored by the U. S. press, or were suppressed by U. S. government officials, possibly to avoid domestic and international condemnation.

The U. S. government had made preparations to document the Hiroshima bombing well before the actual departure of the planes assigned to the mission, though no actual journalists were present, military or civilian. One of the three U. S. B-29 bombers sent on the initial bombing mission was detailed to photograph the event, and several crew members of all three planes took personal photographs as well. 7 An officer on board the Enola Gay, the plane which carried the bomb to its destination, made a sound recording of the crew's reactions to the event, but this recording has been lost. 8

Needless to say, initial Japanese coverage of the bombings was haphazard, but at least one Japanese newsman sought to cover the event. On the ground near Hiroshima, reporter Satoshi Nakamura of the Domei government news agency saw the explosion and the resultant mushroom cloud from about eight miles away.

Nakamura entered the city, and, finding an open telephone line at the relatively undamaged NHK (Nippon Hoso Kyokai, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) radio station, sought to get a newsreport to Tokyo. Nakamura's report, the first one to leave the destroyed city, was sent out at about 11:20 a.m. It said

> At about 8:16 a.m., August 6, one or two enemy planes flew over Hiroshima and dropped one or two special bombs . . . completely destroying the city. Casualties are estimated at 170,000 dead.

Domei management and military authorities felt that Nakamura's story was unrealistic and impossible, and his report was never released. 9

An examination of American and Japanese newspaper reports of the Hiroshima bombing showed some contrast, particularly in early reports. Major Japanese newspapers took two or three days to report the news of the bombing, which took place on August 6th, 1945, even though Hiroshima was only about 500 miles from Tokyo, and located on the same island. Tokyo's Mainichi ran a short, communique-style report on August 8th, while the Nippon Times held off reporting the event until the 9th. The Times repeated the Mainichi's report, and added a statement regarding President Truman's revelation of the nature and power of the bomb. 10 Both stories received front-page play in their respective papers, but were devoid of any details of either the bombing or of the conditions in the smashed city. The Mainichi report read as follows:

> 1. In the attack made by a small number of B-29s on August 6th, considerable damage was caused to Hiroshima city.
>
> 2. In this attack, the enemy used new-type bombs. Details are now under investigation." 11

The American press, however, was considerably more exuberant in its coverage of the bombing. A barrage of stories dealing with the bombing and related research appeared in the Washington Post, the New York Times, and the San Francisco Chronicle on August 7th (the 8th in Japan). Approximately half the news space on the front pages of the Times and the Post was given over to bomb-related news, bearing headlines like Steel Tower 'Vaporized' in Trial of Mighty Bomb and Atomic Bomb Packs Punch of 2000 B-29s. 12, 13 Although much of the print news dealt with the bombing itself or with President Truman's decision to use the weapon, a number of corollary stories ran as well. Stories in the Times and the Post discussed the actual production and testing of the bomb and its components in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Hanford, Washington and Los Alamos, New Mexico. 14, 15 The Times and the Chronicle even went so far to express relief that the United States had discovered the weapon before Nazi Germany, even though the war in Europe had long since been over. 16, 17

The event brought a statement from President Truman, which was printed in newspapers across the U. S. Truman said that not only had Japan been repaid for its attack on Pearl Harbor, but that without quick surrender, "they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth." Truman also hinted darkly that more advanced and more powerful atomic bombs were soon to be built in America. 18

Japanese reporters, lacking hard, technical facts about the bomb, can be forgiven for omitting such details from their reports. However, factually incorrect information about the bomb made its way into the American press. In stories run in both the Washington Post and the New York Times, an official of the British Ministry of Aircraft Production was quoted as saying that the A-bomb, as described by President Truman, should weigh about 400 pounds. 19 In the Post story, a British scientist was also cited, claiming that the weapon should not weigh more than 10 pounds. 20 The actual weight of the Hiroshima bomb was approximately 9,000 pounds. 21

It is remarkable that the American press, wishing to inform the public about this amazing new weapon, would rely on the conjectures of British scientists instead of information supplied by the U. S. government. Though there are several possible reasons for this, the most plausible appears to be the possibility that the American government refused to release any details about the weapon, thus forcing journalists to look elsewhere for information. Thus the British sources cited, poorly informed as they were (Britain assisted somewhat with the atomic research but had little actual responsibility for the development of the A-bomb), could have been the only sources the fact-hungry American press could get. Thus with no way to confirm their facts, the American press apparently chose to run that dubious information.

The New York Times lost no time in indulging in a bit of self-promotion. In a fine example of coverage of a non-story in the midst of one of World War II's most important news events, the Times ran an article on their science reporter, William L. Laurence. Laurence had previously been requested by the War Department as the writer for a number of A-bomb stories that were held until after the Hiroshima bombing, as well as for a number of later articles, all with government approval. 22 Laurence would later accompany an A-bomb on its one-way trip to Nagasaki, and write an eyewitness account of that event. 23 It is worth noting that, in the same issue of the Times, a story was run on the staff of the Manhattan Project, the official name of the A-bomb program. One of the people discussed in the article was Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, the leader of the A-bomb research team. However, the story on Laurence ran on page 5, one page ahead of the story on the Manhattan Project staff. 24 This rather dubious example of news judgement raises the question of what the Times editorial staff had on its collective mind at the time--scooping their competition or responsibly covering a specific facet of a major international news story. If the story on Laurence was worth running, was it truly worth running ahead of the story on the A-bomb research and testing team?

Editorial comments in the press of both nations are also well worth examining in the wake of the initial atomic bombing. The Nippon Times, on August 9th, ran an article, that, upon close inspection, reveals a strange example of doublethink on the part of the Japanese military-run government. The article, entitled U. S. Raiders Destroying Non-Military Objects, castigated the U.S. for "bombing and machine-gunning the old, children, women and general citizens of Japan under the cloak of attacking objects of military value." 25 This statement, read by itself, would seem to point out an inexcusable callousness on the part of American military planners, but a later paragraph suggests that the Japanese generals and admirals were boxing themselves in with their own rhetoric. The later statement claimed that "the day is near when the 100,000,000 people as one man will be in active resistance to the enemy," clearly indicating the Japanese military's desire to fight to the last citizen. This view was echoed in other Japanese news stories and editorials near to and well prior to this date. In fact, the Imperial Japanese government had, under the influence of senior military leaders, encouraged the formation of civilian irregular defense units in anticipation of an Allied invasion which never came. 26 Further, Japanese news stories and editorials appearing as early as October of 1944 exhorted Japanese civilians to strive for the "idealization of the body-crash spirit on the home front." 27

A news report and editorial appearing in the Mainichi of August 12, written in part by War Minister Korechika Anami, expressed the Japanese military government's official view that "for us there is no other way than to fight out this sacred war determinedly for the defense of the Divine Land." 28 In addition, the front page of the August 11th Nippon Times reported that a diplomatic protest over the use of the bomb had been lodged against the United States through the Swiss government. 29

A further illustration of this shrill rhetoric was presented by Robert Guillain in his book, I Saw Tokyo Burning. Guillain was a French news correspondent who was trapped in Japan by the start of the war and who remained in Japan for the duration of the hostilities. Guillain explained the Japanese attitude in this way.

> One simplistic but amazingly effective line of reasoning was this: "To make Japan surrender, it must be vanquished, and to vanquish it, the Hundred Million in Japan must be killed one by one. No army in the world is capable of such a task; it is physically impossible, even for the American Army. Therefore, we cannot be beaten." The argument spread by word of mouth, was always repeated word for word by the Hundred Million--who had never been more than seventy-five million--so faithfully that it seemed to stem from an officially primed whispering campaign. 30

The Japanese accusations of American atrocities against Japanese civilians can be discussed in the light of a story that ran the day before Hiroshima was annihilated, in the San Francisco Chronicle of August 6th, 1945. On page 4 of that issue, a story entitled The Goop---Flames That Can't Be Quenched detailed the construction, effects and use of the petroleum-, magnesium-, phosphorus- and thermite-based incendiary bombs that the American military had already used to devastating effect in Germany, as well as in Tokyo and other Japanese cities. 31 These incendiary weapons were used on Japan at the direction of Major General Curtis LeMay, then the commander of the U. S. 20th Air Force.

One argument advanced for the use of incendiaries on Japanese population centers was that much of the Japanese population would be killed or injured by collateral damage from attacks on nearby legitimate industrial targets. Since many Japanese citizens lived close to factories in urban areas, the reasoning went, they or their homes were likely to be hit anyway. 32 It is also important to recognize that 'precision bombing' in 1945 was not particularly precise, and purely civilian and commercial targets were often hit by U. S. bombs that missed their mark. 33

A darker reason for the use of the incendiary bombs, which has also been used to justify the use of the two atomic weapons, might be the planned invasion of Japan by the Allied powers. Casualties in that operation, which was expected to begin in the fall of 1945, were anticipated to be as high as one million on the American side alone. It is conceivable that American military planners, hoping to break the will of the Japanese military to fight, okayed the incendiary bombings. Casualty estimates from the firebombing of Tokyo ranged as high as 197,000 dead, higher than most estimates of the deaths caused by the atomic bombs in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. 34

In the American press, A-bomb editorials near these dates expressed a sort of benumbed amazement; American newsmen were unable to fully grasp the enormity of what had taken place. No pictures of the damage were forthcoming for several days, and no Western reporters were on the scene to describe the destruction. Thus, in the absence of still or motion pictures, as well as the lack of any first-hand accounts, American editorial writers stumbled about a bit as they attempted to explain the story to their readers. Of the three U. S. newspapers previously cited, the San Francisco Chronicle seemed to take the most realistic view, skeptically stating on August 7th:

> In the absence of anything but large generalities about the bomb, we shall have to wait results of use before we can know its actual potentialities. As a matter of fact, the accounts so far seem almost too good. 35

The New York Times took a decidedly moralistic stance in an editorial on the same day.

> For a revolution in science and a revolution in warfare have occurred on the same day . . . Civilization and humanity can now only survive if there is a revolution in mankind's political thinking. 36

When American eyewitness accounts of Hiroshima did come out in the American press, they came from the crew of the bomb-carrying Enola Gay. Such stories appeared in the Post, the Times and the Chronicle, all of which ran, with top headlines, on the front pages of their respective newspapers. The Post ran the story under the headline Single Atomic Bomb Dissolved Jap City, Fliers Who Dropped New Missile Declare. 37, 38, 39

However, the newspapers did not run colorful descriptions of the damage to Hiroshima. That was unavoidable, as the mushroom cloud covered the city for hours, making air surveillance and photography impossible. Instead, the papers concentrated on the story the Enola Gay's crew had to tell. In addition, stories appearing in all three newspapers on the 9th expressed the hope that the bomb might hasten the end of the war. According to Louis Liebovich, in The Press and the Origins of the Cold War, 1944-1947, the Chicago Tribune of the same day was wholeheartedly behind that idea.

> . . . the newspaper calculated that research on the atomic bomb cost about $2 billion but that shortening the war by nine days would net a return on the investment because the war cost $239 million a day. The Chicago Tribune then called on the government to cease immediately production of conventional weapons and rely on the bomb to defeat the Japanese. Apparently, in the opinion of the writers, Japanese lives certainly were not worth the cost of an unbalanced budget! 40

Not everyone was so thrilled. A report from L'Osservatore Romano (Vatican City), quoted in the Washington Post and The New York Times on the 8th, included a disapproving release from the Vatican press office. The release tersely stated that "the use of atomic bombs in Japan has created an unfavorable impression on the Vatican." 41, 42

But all the news was not as gloomy. One spot of light in the Times of August 8th was a story on page 4 that strongly suggested that atomic power was on the horizon. 43 This prediction would soon prove true, as the first American experimental nuclear power plant would go on line just 13 years later. Additional stories in the Times on that date foresaw other possible advances due to the infant technology.

The Japanese press, presumably still under the control of the military government's censors even after the Hiroshima bombing, moved to dismiss the effects of the bomb. Both the Mainichi and the Nippon Times ran stories on August 10th which explained supposed protective measures against the "new-type bomb." Among the steps suggested were: extinguishing cooking fires to avoid starting a conflagration in the blast area, covering one's skin with air-raid apparel to avoid burns from the bomb's intense heat and taking cover in an air-raid shelter, or, alternately, covering up completely with a blanket. 44, 45 The pitiful image of someone hiding from an A-bomb under a blanket points out one of four things. Either the Japanese military government was either completely ignorant of the bomb's power, was criminally negligent in its failure to suggest more expedient defensive measures, was disseminating information it knew to be false in order to assuage the fears of the public, or was attempting to take the rest of the nation with it as it fought "determinedly" to its destruction.

There were, in fact, more expedient defensive measures, such as decentralizing major population and industrial centers (A-bomb target cities like Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Niigata, Kokura and others had been spared from previous bombardment; all others had been hit repeatedly), improving communications between all military posts and population centers, the construction of hardened underground bomb shelters, and informing the military and civilians alike that the approach of even a single B-29 bomber could mean death from an atomic bomb.

But it must be considered, from a wartime point of view, whether or not, once the first bomb fell, further resistance rather than immediate surrender risked additional atomic bombings. Regardless of the ostensible nobility of any attempt to defend civilians from atomic destruction, a nation in Japan's position had absolutely nothing to gain and possibly everything to lose by defying a nation armed with and willing to use atomic weapons. Moral and ethical arguments against America's continued use of atomic bombs were no defense against the bombs themselves. The risk that the Japanese government took with its citizens after Hiroshima was as unconscionable and as indefensible as was America's use of the weapons. Historical record indicates that the Japanese military government both fully understood the nature and scope of the destruction and consciously chose to continue fighting after Hiroshima.

At this point in Japan's history, the Emperor was little more than a figurehead in the Japanese government. The real power, at least during the war, was held by the military. Though Emperor Hirohito was a quiet, scholarly man who cared little for the actual running of the government, he did assert himself to the Japanese military, asking them to end the war, some six weeks before the Hiroshima bombing. On June 22, Hirohito, in addressing the Supreme War Council, said:

> We have heard enough of this determination of yours to fight to the last soldiers. We wish that you, leaders of Japan, will strive now to study the ways and means to conclude the war. In doing so, try not to be bound by the decisions you have made in the past. 46

But the generals and admirals ignored the Emperor's directive, and pushed on with their war plans even after Hiroshima. During World War II, the Japanese had been pursuing their own A-bomb program, and, much like their allies in Germany, had not met with success. As a result, the head of the Japanese atomic research team, Dr. Yoshio Nishina, was able to quickly inform the military as to the exact nature of the "new-type bomb". The military commanders opted to accept the damage and continue fighting because the damage and loss of life at Hiroshima had not been nearly as great as the great firebomb raid on Tokyo. 47

At any rate, anyone unlucky enough to be near the hypocenter when the bomb went off, in a building or not, stood very little chance against the miniature star that the United States put in Hiroshima's sky. 48 Slightly over 90 percent of the people within 500 meters of the hypocenter died on August 6th. By the end of November, 98.4 percent had died, if not from the blast, then from wounds and radiation suffered that day. 49

Strangely enough, an indignant editorial in the Nippon Times on the 10th admitted to the tremendous destruction on the page after the aforementioned defensive measures. The story of the destruction was chilling, and suggested that no protective measures were sufficient.

> It was an act of pre-meditated wholesale murder, the deliberate snuffing out of the lives of tens of thousands of innocent civilians who had no chance of protecting themselves in the slightest degree."(emphasis added) 50

Any Japanese citizen who read both articles would have been struck by the dissonant information in them. The Nippon Times in particular offered both the editorial with its proclamation of unavoidable doom as well as the news story that defiantly outlined the defensive measures that would supposedly protect Japanese citizens against the bomb.

However, on the 11th, the Nippon Times did make up its mind. In that issue, a page 3 story attempted to reassure the public, stating that "The effect of the new-type bomb is not so absolute as generally imagined." 51

Coverage of the bombing of Nagasaki fairly leapt into the American press, reaching the States the day of the bombing, but much of it generally took a back seat to reports that the Soviet Union had declared war on Japan and was attacking in eastern Asia. The New York Times reported on the Nagasaki bombing on the 9th, the day of the attack. 52 The Washington Post and the San Francisco Chronicle reported it on the 10th. 53, 54

In a strange parallel to the Japanese press's dismissal of the bomb's power, the Post of August 9th ran a story in which the U. S. War Department denied rumors of any possible lasting radioactivity in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. 55 But Wilfred Burchett, an Australian who was the first Western journalist to reach Hiroshima after the bombing, disagreed. 56 In the September 6th London Daily Express he wrote, "In the day I have stayed in Hiroshima, 100 people have died from its effects. . . they have been dying at the rate of 100 a day." 57

Burchett completed much of his research with the help of Domei reporter Satoshi Nakamura, whose eyewitness account of the bombing, previously rejected by the Japanese military censors as untrue and fanciful, was incorporated into the story. For his efforts in reaching and reporting on Hiroshima ahead of the

Occupation forces, Burchett was nearly kicked out of Japan by Occupation authorities. However, he successfully argued that when he wrote and transmitted his story, Japanese press censorship had been lifted and the Occupation authorities had not yet instituted their own restrictions. 58, 59

Burchett's experience indicates that the American government, much like that of the Japanese, was resorting to lies and deception in the way that the atomic bomb was being presented to its citizens and the world. Stephen White, science writer for the New York Herald Tribune, visited the Trinity test site in August of 1945 with a group of other journalists. White was ready to believe the claims of Major General Leslie Groves, the military officer in charge of the A-bomb project, that the A-bomb created no lasting radioactivity. However, as he wrote in 1964, once he and the other journalists entered the test site,

> Our faith was slightly dented when we were instructed to wear cotton shields over our shoes so that radioactive earth would not stick to the soles; more dented when we discovered that every step at the bomb site was followed by anxious doctors carrying Geiger counters and warning us away from hot spots; shattered when a few weeks later we were gravely advised that any fused earth that might have been taken away as a souvenir should under no circumstances be carried unshielded near the skin. The general had made a point, but not the one he had intended. My own souvenir is now lost, but up to a few years ago, I used to have it tested regularly for radioactivity, and at the last reading it was still too hot to carry around. 60

A more chilling reminder of the lasting radioactivity that was created at the Trinity site was the case of Sergeant Patrick Stout, General Groves' driver during the A-bomb project. At Groves' order, Stout stood at ground zero inside the Trinity crater for 30 minutes while the aforementioned journalists photographed him. Stout was diagnosed with leukemia in 1967 and died in 1969, believing that radiation from the Trinity crater caused the disease which killed him. 61

Japanese coverage of Nagasaki was very light. In a short mention of the event on August 11th, the Mainichi reported that the "new-type bombs" had been used on the city two days prior. In an incredible conclusion, the article stated: "Although details are under investigation, damage suffered on our side is surmised to be extremely slight." 62 This report had been submitted by a Japanese Army post, which, being on the other side of a mountain from the city, suffered only minor damage. The post's commander never bothered to check on conditions in Nagasaki, and so the report he submitted, incorrect as it was, came to be printed in the Japanese press. 63

The misinformation which the Japanese military government issued to its citizens in the wake of the atomic bombings was absolutely indefensible. The decision on the part of Japanese military planners to continue the war was likewise indefensible.

However, not all members of the Japanese press establishment acquiesced to their government's wishes.

In spite of the Japanese military government's restrictions on wartime newsgathering and news reporting, an enterprising group of Japanese journalists found an ingenious way around the government's restrictions and on news blackouts from other nations. In his book Japan's War, Edwin P. Hoyt relates how their illegal wartime system operated.

> Many of the media people of Japan were up front with the jingoists, but a few were dedicated to trying to tell the truth about the war. Here is a recollection from the Nichi Nichi offices:
>
> A part of the Mainichi Daily News staff stealthily vanished into the women's toilet converted into a "black chamber." They set up a monitoring apparatus inside the toilet converted into a sanctuary free from military inspection and listened to shortwave radio (forbidden to civilians at this time) to the BBC, Voice of America, Treasure Island, Ankara, and other foreign broadcasts. The news obtained was circulated among the editors of both the vernacular and the English newspapers. Some of it was printed under the datelines of neutral countries--Stockholm, Zurich, Lisbon, Buenos Aires, where there actually were Mainichi correspondents, isolated by the outbreak of the war. This valuable but highly secret newsgathering activity was given an inglorious name, Benjo Press (Toilet Press). 64

Hiding in a toilet appears to be a rather ignominious way to collect news, but it points out an awareness of, as well as a resistance to, the Japanese wartime press restrictions. Obviously, the members of Benjo Press were taking a risk by listening to and even possessing their shortwave set. However, it would seem that they either did not care about or were willing to suffer the consequences in order to get and distribute more complete and accurate news reports. No conclusions can be drawn from this about the Japanese military authorities, but it would seem reasonable to presume that senior officers also had access to unadulterated news reports. Such reports would then be censored by the military authorities prior to their release to the general public and to the Japanese news media.

And what of the American decision to utilize the A-bomb? An early argument advanced for the use of the bomb, and circulated in the highest levels of the U. S. government, was that the Germans and Japanese were probably working on developing their own A-bombs (both were), so the outcome of the war rested on which side won the atomic race. With the fall of Germany, this argument lost its importance; Japanese science and industry was far behind Germany's, and Japan had completely insufficient uranium resources to build a bomb. Military purists advanced the argument that the use of the bomb and the quick end to the war saved as many as a million American lives, and untold numbers of Japanese lives, by averting the planned invasion of Japan. This argument falls apart when the human cost of Japanese radiation injuries that persist to this day are calculated, along with the 45-year Cold War and nuclear arms race that brought mankind to the brink of extinction.

One major argument against the atomic bombings, that Japan was on the verge of surrender, is borne out by, of all things, the American press. On August 6, 1945, the day of the Hiroshima bombing, the New York Times ran a story that said, in part, that

> Indications are growing that the Japanese military still has sufficient control of the domestic situation to prevent Japan's surrender from the weight of our air attacks alone. There is increasing evidence that the Far East enemy is as little likely to submit to air attacks alone as was Germany. 65

The major remaining argument against the use of the A-bomb was that the weapon itself was inhumane. This position, held by many people in anti-nuclear organizations around the world, stands on shaky moral ground at best. No less a personage than U. S. Air Force Brigadier General (Retired) Paul W. Tibbets, pilot of the Enola Gay on the day Hiroshima was bombed, has addressed this position, in a surprising fashion for a military man.

> One must sympathize with any movement designed to reduce or eliminate human slaughter. Nuclear warfare is indeed inhuman and ought to be banned. By the same token, other forms of warfare, such as the dropping of fire bombs and the shooting of soldiers with cannons and rifles, are likewise uncivilized and should be outlawed. Those who try to distinguish between civilized and uncivilized forms of combat soon find themselves defending the indefensible . . . One also runs into trouble in arguing that it is unthinkable to take the lives of innocent civilians but all right to kill soldiers and sailors whose glorious mission it is to kill or be killed. 66

Tibbets has also gone on record to say that he has

> . . . a special sense of indignation at those who condemn the use of a nuclear explosive while

> having no lament for the fire-bombing attacks in the same war on the city of Tokyo, where thousands of civilians were literally burned to death in a single night . . . Only a fool speaks of humane warfare. There is no such thing . . . It has the smell of hypocrisy when . . . humanitarians draw a distinction between an acceptable and an intolerable brand of human cruelty. 67

Colonel Tibbets' point is well taken. He points out that the use of atomic weapons is indeed indefensible, regardless of the reasons. Further, rather than resorting to assaults upon the cruel injuries and destruction wrought by them, points out the inconsistencies in condemning atomic and nuclear weapons while excluding other forms of warfare. Tibbets' argument, while appearing to be grounded solely in moral absolutism at first glance, is nonetheless internally consistent, even if it is a remarkably incongruous one for a professional military man to hold.

Coverage of the bombings, save the occasional photograph, science article or letter to an editor, faded very rapidly in the American press and even faster yet in the Japanese press. The A-bomb was quickly eclipsed in prominence by the end of the war and the growing American tensions with the Soviet Union, which would test-fire its own A-bomb in late 1949. 68 At the war's end, some editors assumed a flippant attitude toward the atom. One even foresaw the development of atomic soap which would use "billions of inaudible blasts(guaranteed not to roughen the hands. . .), literally blowing away food fragments and heavy greases." 69

But it was letters to editors, printed in American newspapers that demonstrated American ambivalence toward the bomb. A writer to the San Francisco Chronicle expressed concern that if and when the U.S. became embroiled in a war with an atomically-armed adversary, the nation would be hard-pressed to convince him not to use those weapons. One author wrote:

> I can well imagine his taunting reply: "It seems strange that you should deplore the use of atomic devices in war. We recall that you yourselves were the first to use them--against the Japanese in 1945." Then he'll let fly." 70

The Washington Post tried to put the bomb into perspective in an editorial on August 10th. The editorial stated that advancements in warfare, from the club to the arrow to gunpowder, were always eventually defeated by defensive technological advancements. It was only a matter of time, the writer suggested, until mankind found a defense against the bomb. 71

Today, 47 years later, there is still no defense. News developments on weapons and equipment like the neutron bomb, the "Star Wars" defense system and thermonuclear weapons tests are still routinely withheld from the American public under the excuse of 'national security.'

And atomic and nuclear tests still go on, in the past at places like Bikini Atoll, Johnston Atoll and Novaya Zemlya, and now at places like the Tonopah Test Range in Nevada. Two men died at Los Alamos while working on the A-bomb, and 'A-bomb veterans' are still petitioning the government for compensation for their exposure to atomic test explosions in the 1950s. 72 Today, more than 30 years after the last atomic tests at Johnston Atoll, part of the atoll's main island is still too radioactively 'hot' to visit. 73

And there have been accidents. Places like Three Mile Island and Chernobyl have been etched in the world's memory. Other places, perhaps not as famous, probably should be. Such a place is Chelyabinsk in the former Soviet Union. A pit of radioactive waste spontaneously underwent a nuclear chain reaction there during the winter of 1957-1958, exploding and killing residents of nearby towns and depositing deadly fallout on the area. To this day, the Soviet (and now Russian) government has never released details of the disaster. 74

And the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), in a court case decided in 1953, made it plainly clear who was supposed to protect citizens and property from the fallout of atmospheric atomic and nuclear tests.

> The AEC's answer: "It is the responsibility of the heads of families and owners of property to protect the members of their families and their property from possible radioactive fallout." In other words, the public would have to protect itself. 75

Still, nuclear science provides a cheap, renewable energy resource, both for the general public and for sea vessels. Miniature nuclear power plants sustain communications, weather surveillance and scientific satellites for the benefit of all mankind. Nuclear medical technology has made possible the treatment of inoperable cancers, and nuclear science has given us many modern conveniences, including luminous-dial clocks and home smoke detectors.

So how can the dangers of nuclear technology be reconciled with the benefits? It would appear from this research that nations (the U. S. and Japan, at least) have in the past hidden the truth from their citizens regarding nuclear warfare matters. Therefore, I suggest that the only way that mankind can come to terms with the double-edged sword of atomic and nuclear energy is to report openly on it and to discuss its development and use.

The old 'national security' bogeyman argument has been struck down; as nuclear power proliferation continues worldwide, developed and developing nations alike take the first steps toward nuclear armament. Nations like the People's Republic of China, North Korea and the former constituent states of the U.S.S.R. have the bomb. Countries like Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Israel may now have it, or at least are close to having it, and the former Yugoslavia may have made steps toward creating it before the beginning of its current civil war. If an extremist group in any of these nations obtained and threatened to use an atomic or nuclear weapon, or if any of these nations declared war on the United States, then 'national security' becomes irrelevant--it has already been compromised. And ignoring the problem by withholding information certainly will not make it go away. We simply cannot hide under blankets.

Coverups, gross, misleading misinformation, deliberate lies and the willful withholding of valuable, critical information have all apparently been the rule, rather than the exception, in reportage of atomic and nuclear matters. This is indeed unfortunate, in view of the fact that no justifiable reason exists to hide the truth from or mislead the public regarding those matters. This information, which has potential impact on all individuals and all nations of the world, is far too important to humanity to be entrusted solely to governments. From this research, it would appear that the American and Japanese governments have done a rather poor job of keeping their citizens informed on the scope, nature and power of nuclear technology, a topic well worth the public's interest, concern and commentary.

Now that we have let the nuclear genie out of the bottle, we must force it into the light where we may all have a close, critical look at it. Only in this way can we honestly discuss this most awe-inspiring of technologies. Otherwise, we may someday pay dearly for our ignorance.

Idealists maintain that all nations
should share the atomic bomb.
Pessimists maintain that they will.

-Punch (London)

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A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press

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A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press

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A distinct kind of "exclusion" was experienced by nineteenth-century U.S. peace advocates. While frequently members of the most respected classes of society, these individuals adopted moral and ideological positions that placed them at odds with most of their countrymen and women. In the millions of pages of peace advocacy periodicals, tracts, and pamphlets that they produced, this moral and ideological isolation/exclusion emerges as a forceful shaper of their communication strategies.

This study of ten important nineteenth-century peace advocacy periodicals suggests that current advocates' conception of journalism as a form of activism in its own right (comparable, for instance, to picketing and public speaking), is not new. Like their contemporary as well as their twentieth-century counterparts, nineteenth-century peace advocates also emphasized the significance of writing as a form of activism and the power of the press to change public opinion. They aimed their periodicals toward a dual audience of the converted and the not yet convinced and attempted strategies to appeal to both groups.

They also acutely attended other media: reform, religious, and mainstream, which they scoured self-consciously for any legitimizing references to themselves and their peace advocacy endeavors. Furthermore, they may have been more willing to risk articulating their controversial positions on other issues of the day besides peace (e.g., woman suffrage, abolition, temperance) not only because of the perceived connection to peace ideals, but perhaps also out of the sense of moral superiority and responsibility to educate society that membership in self-contained ideological bands engendered.

A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press

I. Review of the Literature on Peace History and the History of the Peace Advocacy Press

II. Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy Movements and Their Presses

III. Analysis of a Sample of Peace Advocacy Periodicals
  A. Method
  B. Purpose and Audience
  C. Overview of Content
  D. Views of Reform and Journalism
  E. Concern with Other Media
  F. Coverage of Other Reform Efforts
  G. Some Journalistic Strategies

IV. Conclusion

Appendix A: A Taxonomy of Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy and Its Publications

Appendix B: Selected Examples of Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy Publications

A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press

The American alternative press tradition runs strong and deep. Throughout U.S. history most cultures and viewpoints not expressed in the mainstream press have found an outlet among myriad alternative publications. Examples come quickly to mind: the African American press, the religious press, Spanish-language newspapers. Among the alternative press are many vigorous social movement advocacy publications whose founders used them to express ideas and concerns not recognized as significant by the dominant culture. Important nineteenth-century examples include the periodicals of abolitionists, evangelicals, temperance activists, woman suffragists, and peace advocates.

A distinct kind of "exclusion" was experienced by nineteenth-century U.S. peace advocates. While frequently members of the most respected classes of society, these individuals adopted moral and ideological positions that placed them at odds with most of their countrymen and women. In the millions of pages of peace advocacy periodicals, tracts, and pamphlets that they produced, this moral and ideological isolation/exclusion emerges as a forceful shaper of their communication strategies. Studying this communication may provide some insights into the overall workings of the alternative press, not just in the nineteenth century but in our own.

For instance, this study suggests that advocates' conception of journalism as a form of activism in its own right, comparable to public speaking, etc., is not new. Like their contemporary as well as their twentieth-century counterparts, nineteenth-century peace advocates also emphasized the significance of writing as a form of activism and the power of the press to change public opinion. And while early twentieth-century (pre-*Masses*) reformers and radicals tended to approach their causes with the utmost gravity--to do otherwise, they feared, could compromise their credibility--so did nineteenth-century peace advocates communicate their ideas in a sober, didactic (if at times even boring) way. Yet there were also many attempts to be interesting and even entertaining.

I. Review of the Literature on Peace History and the History of the Peace Advocacy Press

Perhaps the most central reform movement in U.S. history is peace advocacy, as a substantial body of work by historians has shown.[1] Beginning early in the nineteenth century with the development of the first organized peace societies, countless peace advocates, both reformers and radicals, have worked for the realization of world peace, in innumerable ways. Some have been propelled by religious convictions, particularly those members of the historic peace churches, the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren. Many more have worked for peace through nonsectarian affiliations such as the American Peace Society (started 1828), the League of Universal Brotherhood (1846), and the Universal Peace Union (1866).

Much of the literature of peace history is the product of scholars of diplomatic, military, and political history, who have viewed the field essentially within the framework of their respective disciplines, with scant attention paid to the peace press.[2] Few communication scholars have considered the historical dimension of this press. While journalism's role as an agent of social change has been well established in studies by Elizabeth Eisenstein and others,[3] little attention has been focused on that advocacy press, for example, whose primary purpose is to effect change. When historians have studied the nineteenth-century advocacy press, they have examined the publications of reformers such as evangelicals,[4] feminists,[5] abolitionists,[6] and temperance advocates[7]--but not those of peace reformers. Yet peace advocacy, certainly in the antebellum period, was common--and often correlated with advocacy of other reforms such as abolition and women's rights.[8] Research by communication historians on the peace advocacy press, currently in its nascence, is an area ripe for inquiry.[9]

II. Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy Movements and Their Presses

It was not until 1815 that the modern, nonsectarian American peace movement was born. The years 1815-1816 saw the simultaneous, independent (and sometimes unbeknownst to each other) emergence of major peace societies in the United States and Britain.[10] The immediate catalyst for the formation of these societies was the century of European conflict which culminated in the continental wars of the Napoleonic period and their extension to the Americas in the War of 1812.[11] Like the philanthropic reforms of the early nineteenth century, the peace movement's intellectual roots lay in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.[12] These humanitarian, patriotic reformers founded nondenominational organizations whose membership was overwhelmingly Protestant. Historian Charles DeBenedetti describes them as "typical romantic reformers, individualistic yet organized, rationalistic yet sentimental, personally conservative yet socially radical, humanly optimistic yet scripturally literalist." Well-educated, most were middle-class, Congregationalist or Unitarian gentlemen of the urban Northeast. Many were clergy, teachers, and professional men.[13]

They founded organizations such as the New York Peace Society (1815)[14] and the Massachusetts Peace Society (1815).[15] At the close of 1821, the Massachusetts Peace Society claimed to have distributed, with its auxiliaries, a total of 7,155 numbers of its periodical, the *Friend of Peace*.[16]

At first unaware of each other's existence, these two organizations together ushered in the dawn of an organized, continuous American peace movement.[17] In 1828 the American Peace Society (APS), was formed, absorbing many of the smaller state and regional peace organizations.[18] The APS and subsequent peace advocacy associations can be considered part of a social movement. For purposes of this discussion, a social movement is defined as "a group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behavior, and social relationships."[19] As Alexis de Tocqueville observed during his visit to the United States in the early 1830s, some of the most significant U.S. associations were those of social movements, many of whom "recognized that communication was essential in maintaining their cohesion" and accomplished this by the publication of pamphlets and newspapers.[20]

The APS tried to change public opinion through its periodicals such as the *Advocate of Peace*, the *Calumet*, and the *Harbinger of Peace*, as well as through the publication of tracts, the encouragement of peace sermons in the churches, and the sponsorship of peace essay contests in the colleges, which sometimes led to the formation of student peace societies, such as those at Amherst, Dartmouth, and Oberlin. The APS aimed "to reach the public mind only through the ordinary channels of influence," seeking "reform with as little agitation as possible." It wished "to effect a peaceful change on this subject by the moral suasion of the gospel addressed to the community in ways to which they are already accustomed." Thus, the APS first sought the sanction of the "highest ecclesiastical bodies," and instructed its agents "invariably to act in concert with pastors." [21] This strategy also suggests that peace advocates sought to cultivate respectability as a means of winning society's acceptance.

In 1837, inspired by the nonresistance ideas of John

Humphrey Noyes (the perfectionist founder of the upstate New York Oneida Community), William Lloyd Garrison became the leader of the new radical group, the New England Non-Resistance Society, that splintered from the APS during the debate over war as a potential means to end slavery.

With peace advocates finding themselves divided over the issues of war and abolition, the Civil War completed the decline of the American Peace Society. Thus pacifism during the Civil War became largely the lonely province of the traditional peace sects (the Mennonites, the Brethren, and the Quakers) and some newer, millenarian nonresistant sects, such as the Seventh-Day Adventists and the Christadelphians. Following the war the APS was revived, reclaiming its traditional, middle-of-the-road character.

In 1866 a new nonsectarian organization, the Universal Peace Union, was founded. In reaction to the pro-Civil War position the APS had adopted, it took a much less compromising position on violence, following Garrisonian nonresistance. It was led by Alfred Love from 1866 until his death in 1913.[22] Together, the American Peace Society and the Universal Peace Union represented the two points of view whose polarity had led to the decline of the APS in the antebellum years.

In the post-Civil War years, these groups were significant peace societies. Curiously, despite the important inspirational effect of the Quakers' historical peace testimony on early peace advocacy writers (both conservative and radical), the Quakers themselves had little to do with any of the nonsectarian peace groups.[23] In 1867, in response to the Civil War, the Quakers founded the Peace Association of Friends in North America, whose publications included the periodical *Messenger of Peace*.

Also considered a part of the peace movement in the second half of the nineteenth century were various groups which organized to support specific means of peace-seeking, mainly arbitration and international law and organization, as the peace movement became more cosmopolitan.[24]

Almost immediately, peace societies saw a need for specialized peace advocacy publications to cover the peace issues that were left out of newspapers, both religious and mainstream.[25] Taking advantage of technological changes in printing and transportation, numerous groups, especially religious bodies, diffused their propaganda in tract form.[26] Peace advocates also produced thousands of pages of tracts annually free of charge or for a nominal sum. While tracts are a significant component of the nineteenth-century peace advocacy press, this study focuses on the peace periodical press. As Merle Curti has noted, of all the official peace publications, "the periodicals themselves are the most important printed materials, as they contain the annual reports and many of the sermons and addresses which were also circulated in tract form."[27]

The Appendix provides a taxonomy of the American peace advocacy press. Just as peace advocacy took a variety of forms, from absolute pacifism to a moderate position allowing for "defensive" war, so did the peace advocacy periodical press express a kaleidoscope of viewpoints, from the fairly conservative position of the American Peace Society (allowing for "defensive" war) and its regional antecedents and affiliates, to the radical, thorough-going pacifism of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Most visible, widely circulated, and comparatively prominent were the publications of the broadly-based nonsectarian Christian humanitarian peace organizations, such as the American Peace Society's *Advocate of Peace*, *Calumet*, and *Harbinger of Peace*, and the publications of its regional forerunners and affiliates, such as the Connecticut Peace Society's *American Advocate of Peace*, the Massachusetts Peace Society's *Friend of Peace*, and the Pennsylvania Peace Society's *Advocate of Peace and Christian Patriot*.

Less visible than these periodicals were the expressly religious publications of the historic peace churches. The Mennonite press was still in its infancy in the 1850s; moreover, Mennonites were separatists who did not aim to proselytize the outside society.[28] A regular Quaker weekly press did not appear until October 1827 with the publication of the Philadelphia *Friend*, which became the Orthodox branch's organ. Not until 1844 did the Hicksites establish a regular newspaper, the *Friends' Weekly Intelligencer*. Quaker periodicals discussed pacifism mainly in religious terms; and although in the years before mid-century they devoted considerable attention to peace issues, the amount of space given to such issues was a small amount of the total. And while the nonsectarian peace organizations confessed their indebtedness to the Quaker peace witness, American Quakers themselves, for a variety of reasons, were socially isolated during this period. Largely reluctant to collaborate with these admirers, they gave them "a certain slightly condescending approval."[29] The German Baptist Brethren had even less of a journalistic impact, producing "no literature dealing even incidentally with the subject of their peace testimony before the middle of the nineteenth century."[30]

III. Analysis of a Sample of Peace Advocacy Periodicals

A. Method

This study analyzes ten of the nineteenth century's most important, comparatively high-circulation publications of prominent nonsectarian peace advocacy organizations such as the American Peace Society and the Universal Peace Union, as well as two Quaker publications (to represent the religious-based peace advocacy of the historic peace churches). The sample varies in geographic and philosophical origins. Complete files of the following periodicals (at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection) were examined, representing in their sum the period ranging from 1915 to 1913.[31]

The *Friend of Peace*, the organ of the Massachusetts Peace Society, a quarterly published and edited by Noah Worcester in Boston and Cambridge, Mass., 1815-1827.

The *Advocate of Peace and Christian Patriot*, issued monthly by the Pennsylvania Peace Society in Philadelphia, 1828-1829.

Three successive periodicals of the American Peace Society: the *Harbinger of Peace* (a monthly duodecimo published in New York and edited by William Ladd, May 1828-April 1831); the *Calumet* (two octavos issued bimonthly from New York and edited by William Ladd, 1831-1835); and the *Advocate of Peace*, which had been founded in June, 1834, as the quarterly organ of the Connecticut Peace Society, in Hartford.[32]

Three periodicals of the Universal Peace Union: the *Bond of Peace* (published monthly in Philadelphia, 1868-1874); the *Voice of Peace* (published monthly in Philadelphia, 1868-1874); and the *Peacemaker* (published in Philadelphia, 1883-1913, with frequency and title variations).[33]

Two Quaker periodicals: the *Messenger of Peace*, published by the Peace Association of Friends in America[34] in New Vienna, Ohio (1870-1877) and Richmond, Ind. (1887-1890), with title variations, and edited by Daniel Hill; and the *Herald of Peace*, published semimonthly in Chicago (1868-1869).

First, a brief general profile of this sample of the peace advocacy press will be provided. These periodicals range in size and appearance, from the comparatively modest *Harbinger of Peace* measuring five by eight inches and the *Friend of Peace* at six by nine and a half inches, to the *Bond of Peace* at eight by eleven inches and the *Herald of Peace* at nine by twelve inches.

Throughout the sample, the number of per-issue pages and advertisements, as well as illustrations, increases with time, doubtless reflecting developments in technology (as well as, in some cases, the relative success of the organization with which each periodical was associated). By the 1870s and 1880s, advertising was plentiful, often filling several pages and touting general-interest products including books and periodicals, health nostrums, and household appliances and supplies. (Advertising was similar in scope and kind among at least one other contemporary social movement periodical, the temperance movement's *Union Signal*.[35])

Despite the varying timespans and organization fortunes represented by these periodicals, cost of annual subscriptions remained fairly consistent. Throughout the period studied, one dollar per year was a typical price, starting with the *Friend of Peace* even before 1820. The extremes are represented by the *Messenger of Peace*, charging 50 cents (1879) and the *Herald of Peace*, $1.50 (1868). Compared to the prevailing rates for other U.S. magazines, the peace publications were inexpensive.[36] This likely stems from their creators' desire to achieve a wide readership, which, typical of advocacy publications, overshadowed profitability considerations.

Like so many of their contemporaries, editors such as Noah Worcester and William Ladd worked without salary, publishing their papers at their own risk and expense.[37] Nevertheless, running in the red was characteristic of the peace press. Like so many other social movement-reform publications in U.S. history, these also were edited and published by a small band of dedicated followers perpetually in need of money.[38] The nineteenth-century peace advocacy press, like its contemporaries as well as its twentieth-century counterparts, almost always operated on a meager budget.

Besides subscription (and later, advertising) revenue, income from job printing also provided necessary funding, as did frequently-solicited donations. Appeals for funds were common and lists of the donors, along with the amounts paid or pledged, were regularly printed.[39]

Independent circulation data for these publications is difficult to obtain; it does indicate that while audiences for these periodicals did not rival in size those for the penny press, neither were they inconsequential. For instance, in 1850 the *Advocate of Peace* had a circulation of 3,000.[40] The more available self-reported circulation data indicates, for example, that in 1831, the *Harbinger of Peace* printed about 18,500 copies and that in 1840 the *Advocate of Peace*, a bimonthly, was being issued in quantities from 2,000 to 2,700.[41] And the *Messenger of Peace* announced that in 1878, 214,600 pages of tracts were distributed, and 169 volumes, "while the matter contained in the *Messenger of Peace* has been equal to 1,404,000 pages of tracts."[42] It seems reasonable to conclude that circulation figures generally reached one to two thousand or more, fairly typical of mainstream magazines in the pre-1850 period.[43]

Furthermore, many copies were passed on from reader to reader. The peace societies and religious groups that published these periodicals expended considerable effort to get them into institutional libraries, as well as those of opinion leaders (as indicated by the subscription lists that many of the periodicals regularly published).

B. Purpose and Audience

The peace press's audience ranged from the uninitiated to those who were committed members of peace organizations. Editors aimed to build and maintain their geographically dispersed communities of conscience while attracting and educating new converts. This two-fold audience also characterizes some other nineteenth-century social movement advocacy publications, such as those of the woman suffrage movement.[44] It is a challenging task to reach such a dual audience; as Martha M. Solomon has observed, "the job of gaining new members while maintaining a consistent sense of group identity ... requires unusual rhetorical acumen."[45]

Occasionally the peace publications themselves give clues suggesting how they further defined that audience.[46] Especially, the peace press sought to maintain its loyal following and build internal cohesion. Much content was directed to the latter group. Morale was built in several ways, often through the cataloguing of each incremental gain for the cause of peace. Even the smallest acknowledgment of their arguments conferred by mainstream society was presented as occasion for rejoicing. Peace-furthering achievements both large and small were celebrated. For example, the first annual report of the Massachusetts Peace Society, published in the *Friend of Peace* in 1817, noted, "All human institutions are stamped with imperfection; and the best of them are capable of being improved by time and experience." The report continued:

> Considering the circumstances under which the Massachusetts Peace Society originated, the smallness of its funds, and the powerful prepossessions it had to encounter, it was not to be expected that the first Report of its officers, would contain a list of facts either very numerous, splendid, or interesting.

Yet, despite this disclaimer, the report went on to note many small achievements, including the distribution of six numbers of the *Friend of Peace*, as well as other publications to "several Colleges in New-England."[47]

The *Friend of Peace* ran a regular column called "Auspicious Occurrences," in which it frequently noted the founding of other peace societies,[48] along with such far-flung intelligence as the news that Switzerland's Council of the Valais had abolished capital punishment, and that a Catholic paper in France had praised the work of the Massachusetts Peace Society.[49] Other morale-building columns offered short news items describing activities and achievements of other peace societies (both U.S. regional and British) and their publications.[50] The organization self-consciously noted and celebrated with fanfare each new peace advocacy publication.

A similar column was the *Advocate of Peace's* "Auspicious movements," which reported, for instance, the "omen of much promise to our cause" that the secretary of the American Peace Society had "been invited to attend discussions appointed by some ecclesiastical bodies on questions of great importance to the cause of peace."[51] Other peace periodicals carefully and frequently noted the growth of the peace movement, both in the United States and abroad.[52] And not surprisingly, individual publications ran articles that pointed out the direct salutary effects of reading their pages.[53]

Also, doubtless to build morale as well as to attract new partisans, laudatory letters-to-the-editor were often printed. Typical is a letter from the Rev. William A. Huckabee of Morganton, Georgia, published in an 1879 issue of the *Messenger of Peace*: "Dear Sir: I am converted to Peace principles, and I attribute it to the reading of your paper."[54] Overall, the letters published were almost invariably positive. The *Friend of Peace* once admitted censoring part of a letter which expressed certain sentiments about "the Editor...which could not with propriety be published in this work."[55] Still, a few publications did print some of the negative missives. For instance, the *Herald of Peace* printed this comment from a reader: "I think it ought to be named the *Herald of War*. It stirs up so much strife and controversy."[56]

This almost uniformly positive, movement-building tone minimized any internal discord that might have existed. Thus, during the antebellum period, which was characterized by considerable dissension within the American Peace Society over aims and purposes of the peace movement vis-à-vis slavery, the *Advocate of Peace* reported only that there was "some diversity of views among our own members."[57] All of the above evidence suggests a press very conscious of its effects on its audiences, both internal and external.

Additional evidence includes the frequent attempts periodicals made to gauge those effects. Much of the evidence they gathered was anecdotal. "Our cause is rapidly gaining ground," the *Harbinger of Peace* announced confidently in 1829. "Contributions to our paper are more frequent, and, on all hands, we hear complaints that our book is too small, and that it ought to be twice or thrice as large."[58] Likewise, the *Calumet* in 1832 claimed that "The friends of Peace are scattered throughout almost the whole of Christendom...Our influence extends to Europe."[59] Sometimes the editors were more specific. Thus the *Friend of Peace* measured its journalistic impact by the growth of regional peace societies, and by the fact that the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers had voted official approval of the Massachusetts Peace Society.[60]

C. Overview of Content

Typical of its contemporaries, the *American Advocate of Peace* aimed

> 1st, to extended discussions of the most important topics connected with the cause of peace; 2d, to brief

> Critical Notices of current publications as they come within the application of our principles, with the design of promoting, in this respect, in a Christian country, a pure and Christian Literature; 3d, to intelligence concerning the progress of pacific principles and the civil and political affairs of nations.

Likewise did the *Voice of Peace* seek "to proclaim ripe and fresh arguments for peace. To offer Letters, Essays, Stories, Speeches and information on the most practical means for its establishment," with "kindred subjects...only find[ing] a place when they are for those things that make for peace."[61]

Considerable content consisted of didactic essays. Characteristic examples included facts and statistics to prove war's immorality and waste, as in "The Delusions and Suicidal Results of War"; arguments illustrating the incompatibility of war with Christian principles, as in "Is Peace Consistent with Christianity?"; and practical suggestions for reform, as in "The Object of Peace Societies Practicable."[62] Letters to the editor were also a staple feature. Poetry was fairly common among the later-dated publications[63] and moralistic fiction also appeared occasionally.[64] Such content paralleled that available in contemporary mainstream newspapers and magazines (to which readers were already accustomed), a reader-attracting strategy also employed by the woman suffrage press, the temperance press, and, perhaps to a lesser degree, by the antislavery press.[65]

Also, the *Bond of Peace*, the *Herald of Peace*, the *Voice of Peace*, and the *Peacemaker* published a special children's section, offering essays, poems, and stories to help teach younger readers about peace,[66] as did the temperance press.[67]

D. Views of Reform and Journalism

In the pages of the peace press, advocates wrote candidly of their purposes, both as reformers and radicals, and as writers/journalists. The characteristic nineteenth-century belief in rationality reigned; as the American Peace Society claimed in its organ, the *Calumet*, "Past experience also teaches us, that delusions...have been dissipated by the light of truth."[68] The peace advocacy press set out to illuminate that truth. It set out to marshal and publicize all the rational arguments in favor of its cause. Just as their antislavery counterparts held "that the press was one of the most powerful agencies of reform,"[69] peace advocates greatly valued writing and publication as tools of persuasion, as much if not more so than other forms of personal activism (e.g., public speaking and interpersonal, face-to-face communication). This may suggest that peace advocates felt morally and ideologically isolated/excluded from mainstream society; they may have found it easier to work for an unpopular cause through writing and publication, activities that could be carried on passionately and even anonymously. (For instance, Massachusetts Peace Society founder Noah Worcester wrote for the *Friend of Peace* for many years under the pseudonym "Philo Pacificus.")

In any event, peace advocates strove mightily to persuade through the written word. For example, as the *Messenger of Peace* stated, it was "filled with facts and arguments to prove that War is unchristian, inhuman and unnecessary."[70] Likewise, the *Friend of Peace* asserted in 1819, "it is in the power of the Editors of Newspapers to do much good with little labor and expense. A few well written remarks on the subject of war may occasion thousands to reflect, and eventually save thousands from untimely death by murderous hands."[71] Indeed, the *Friend of Peace* continued,

> Among the numerous gifts of God for the advancement of our race, in knowledge, virtue, and happiness, the tongue, the pen, and the press hold a preeminent rank...Had the tongue, the pen, and the press been always under the direction of wisdom and benevolence, duelling and war would never have been known among men; and even now, should all these gifts be henceforth duly consecrated to the purposes of love and peace, it is very certain that in *one year* from this day, war would be banished from the earth, never to return.[72]

Enlightenment rationality was a compelling factor in the formation of these ideas, as discussed. Too, such sentiments are typical of what has been called the "genesis" stage in the life cycle of social movements, in which "the movement's initial leaders believe, often with remarkable naivete, that appropriate institutions will act if the movement can make institutional leaders and followers aware of the urgent problem and its solution."[73] However, this emphasis on writing and publication characterizes the peace advocacy press not only during its burgeoning in the years following 1815, but throughout the century.

Not surprisingly, the *Friend of Peace*'s sponsoring organization, the Massachusetts Peace Society, in its constitution singled out the role of the written word in encouraging "the formation of similar societies" both in the United States and abroad.[74] This view of the press as a powerful spur--perhaps *the* most powerful spur--to social change was common. "We regard the *Advocate* [*of Peace*] as our main instrument," the American Peace Society stated in the pages of that periodical.[75] References to the press as "an engine of vast moral power" also appeared in the *Advocate*. The APS wished "to hear [the press's] ten thousand tongues speak on this subject, in the ear of all reading communities, through books, and pamphlets, and tracts, and newspapers, and every class of periodicals."[76]

And the more radical *Voice of Peace*, while holding that "To live peace is better than to write it or speak it," still emphasized the importance of sending forth the *Voice of Peace* "to be heard and heeded."[77]

Writers and editors seemed especially cognizant of their role as manipulators of public opinion, frequently referring to this concept. "The power of public opinion has become proverbial," wrote the *Advocate of Peace*. "It is the lever of the moral world."[78] In another issue, the *Advocate* stated, "Public opinion is our main instrument; and we would cast it in the mould of peace. It is the mistress of the world, and does more to control Christendom than all her fleets and armies."[79] Furthermore, the *Advocate* wrote, "We seek to effect such a change in public opinion as shall secure a right and universal application of the gospel to the intercourse of Christian nations."[80] Such sentiments were echoed by the second Pennsylvania Peace Society, whose constitution stated its object was "to collect and disseminate information calculated to bring about a correct public opinion on the subject of *Peace* and *War*."[81] Similarly, the *Calumet* maintained that "Public opinion is yet to rule the world," and that "by the simple process of *enlightening and influencing public opinion*,...the war-spirit may be subdued."[82] The pages of the peace press contain many other such references to public opinion.[83] Perhaps the comparatively high education and class level of the movement's leaders contributed to their optimism in the efficacy of their written words to sway public opinion. Their belief that the press could influence public opinion directly and powerfully was shared by most other Americans of the time. This idea seems to have taken root after the Revolution and endured, occasionally challenged, into the 1880s.[84]

On the whole, the nineteenth-century peace press took itself quite seriously, perhaps in direct proportion to peace advocates' level of insecurity about society's acceptance of their viewpoints. As the *Bond of Peace* stated, "For ourselves rest assured we regard the cause as a life work, you will not find us to faltor [sic] for mere trifles." [85] To be sober and serious about one's cause (and risk boring readers), or to approach journalism as both a means to an end, and as an end in itself (and therefore, presumably, to craft a more interesting message):

reform and radical journalists have often considered these two approaches to be incompatible. A perennial concern has been that attempts to be entertaining, for instance through the pursuit of an elegant, even literary style, would betray the gravity of their causes. This may be the fallout of sensing moral and ideological marginalization. The more one feels one's ideas are considered unacceptable or controversial by society, the more compelled one is to maintain a serious public demeanor, in order not to lose the precious amount of credibility already claimed.

So it is not surprising that in 1829 the *Harbinger* disavowed responsibility for some readers' complaints that it was "insipid and uninteresting," instead calling into question "the want of interest in the subject [of peace] itself." The *Harbinger* went on, "We cannot make a novel of it. We cannot deal in fiction. We are bound to the truth. We cannot address the imagination; we can only appeal to the judgment and to the conscience, and what can we do with readers who have neither? Our object is not to *create* excitement, but to *allay* it."[86]

It is generally thought that until the brilliant, literary, and captivating radical periodical *Masses* (edited by Max Eastman) appeared in 1911, most advocacy journalists disavowed entertainment and literary craft for the safer path of staid content. However, the nineteenth-century woman suffrage press "was not all suffrage and suffering," offering poetry, short stories, and essays on a variety of other subjects and even household hints in an attempt to attract more readers.[87] The temperance press, too, sought to offer varied, interesting content.[88] Among peace movement publications, the *Herald of Peace* gave some thought to its attention-getting qualities. In the years following the Civil War, it chose not to devote its pages exclusively to peace, reasoning that the subject had limited audience appeal. "The number of persons in the United States who would subscribe for a paper strictly devoted to the cause of peace, and pay their money for it cheerfully and promptly, and, what is more, read it with any degree of interest, we are sorry to say is very small...a paper which presents one subject only, becomes dry and uninteresting to many." Therefore, the *Herald* set out to offer not only content dealing specifically with peace, but on "all subjects which effect [sic] our interest as Christians...We are truly convinced that peace will only be attained by a proper appreciation...of the peaceable requirements of the gospel." This meant that the *Herald*, while aiming to be "thoroughly acceptable to the Society of Friends," would "avoid a narrow sectarian character, and endeavor to maintain that charity and true catholic spirit which will make it a welcome visitor among thousands of every Christian name." [89]

E. Concern with Other Media

The degree of importance that nineteenth-century peace editors and writers attached to writing and publication can be seen in their attentiveness to other media: reform, religious, and mainstream. Throughout the period studied, this concern with outside media's treatment of peace issues and peace advocacy organizations and their publications also suggests peace advocates' self-consciousness as purveyors of often unpopular ideas. The peace press often measured its effectiveness in terms of its impact on these other presses, especially mainstream. It has been suggested that only in the late nineteenth century did the communication tactics of social movements begin to emphasize getting their messages into the commercial mass media.[90] If that is so, the seeds of this strategy can be seen throughout the nineteenth century in peace periodicals' media-consciousness. Regular columns in the peace press detailed a variety of other publications' reactions to it. "From the presses to which we have sent our request for co-operation," began one such column in the *Advocate of Peace*, "we are receiving almost daily responses of cordiality and encouragement."[91] For instance, 1827, the American Peace Society claimed in its *Advocate of Peace* that "The public press is almost universally open to the cause of peace." Among its evidence for this, the APS noted that "The religious newspapers have come up nobly to our help," making many more "applications for peace essays than we can answer."[92]

In 1829 the American Peace Society noted in its *Harbinger of Peace* that "Our cause is rapidly gaining ground," pointing to "Honourable mention and frequent quotations" of the *Harbinger* that had "appeared in the newspapers, particularly the religious papers."[93] And the APS claimed in 1831 in its periodical, the *Calumet*, that "a large number of pamphlets and newspaper essays have appeared on the subject of Peace, in various parts of the country." This led the APS to believe "that the press is every year becoming more and more active in this cause."[94] The *Friend of Peace* also kept careful watch on other media.[95] Obviously these nineteenth-century peace advocates, like many members of social movement organizations, placed an especially high value on the persuasive powers of the external press, particularly the mainstream. Peace advocates often prodded the mainstream press to publish articles proselytizing for peace.[96]

Just about any mention in the mainstream press was welcome, and so in 1869 the *Bond of Peace* devoted nearly an entire page to discussion of the largely negative reactions to the ideas of the Universal Peace Union that had recently appeared in the pages of publications including the *New York Times*, the *New York Evening Express*, the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, and the *Detroit Post*.[97]

Concern with lack of visibility is characteristic in the "maintenance" phase of the life cycle of social movements--that is, in the phase following the launching of the movement and the first rush of enthusiasm.[98] Yet the peace press's concern with peace publicity in the outside press seems to be continuous, present throughout the nineteenth century at every stage. This may suggest, again, peace advocates' insecurity as moral and ideological outsiders.

F. Coverage of Other Reform Efforts

If the press was an "engine of vast moral power," it could drive the train of reform not only for peace, but for other causes deemed of significant moral weight. And so the peace press regularly featured articles on related reform efforts. The degree and range of advocacy was naturally a function of the ideology of the sponsoring publication or religion. For instance, besides peace, the Universal Peace Union in its organ the *Voice of Peace* backed a far-ranging set of reforms, pledging "To be just to all, irrespective of color, sex, race or condition." Military " taxes, schools, drills, pomp and preferment," as well as the restriction of the sale and use of deadly weapons, justice for American Indians, and temperance were advocated.[99] Furthermore, educational reform was highlighted as a priority: "Petitioning governments to abolish war clauses is good; giving aid to men and women in overcoming evil passions is better," the *Voice* asserted, "but, to our mind, the best of all is to commence at the very foundation and teach the children of the rising generation in morality and good works. There are thousands of neglected children growing up with little or no instruction, save in the arts of wickedness, and by and by they will fill the ranks of those who carry on wars, murders and every immoral practice by which the world is cursed." [100]

Among this sample of the peace press, articles denouncing capital punishment were common.[101] Also frequent, particularly after the Civil War, were articles advocating justice for American Indians. The *Voice of Peace* even had a regular "Indian Department."[102]

Reflecting the positions of their sponsoring organizations or religions, a number of periodicals urged varying degrees of equal treatment of women. For instance, the *Bond of Peace*, which "cordially invite[d] all to enroll...who are willing to labor irrespective of color[,] race[,] sex[,] or condition..." wholeheartedly embraced equal rights for women. "In fact," stated the *Bond*, "it is useless for us to look on universal peace, while woman is kept back from having a voice in the council of the nation."[103]

In addition, occasional articles advocated temperance. The *Messenger of Peace* led the way, proposing in 1879 to increase the number of articles on this subject. "We regard intemperance as the handmaid, of war," the *Messenger* stated, "often having much to do in causing war, and leading to fearful sacrifices of men through the recklessness of officers under the influence of strong drink."[104] Articles in the peace press also denounced the use of tobacco. Anticipating by nearly one hundred years the U.S. Surgeon General's 1964 report, an article in an 1869 issue of the *Bond of Peace* condemned smoking, claiming it "conveys its poisonous influence into every part of the lungs."[105] Occasional articles also advocated just treatment of animals.[106] The *Herald of Peace* suggested that the animal movement was "ill-directed," and that good treatment of animals would be insured when there was peace between human beings.[107]

Other articles backed a variety of other humanitarian reforms. These included antislavery, given most coverage, of course, in the antebellum years;[108] gun control and the abolition of lynching;[109] and penal reform.[110] Some articles also denounced children's war toys.[111]

During the antebellum period, many individuals participated in not just one but several reform movements; for instance, membership in antislavery, women's rights, and peace associations was correlated. Thus movement publications naturally backed other, related causes. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s the temperance movement publication, the *Union Signal*, proselytized for a wide variety of reform causes, including woman suffrage and feminism.[112] Woman suffrage publications such as the *Lily* and the *Una* supported temperance,[113] while another, *The Revolution* advocated a variety of reforms to help the poor and homeless, prisoners, and Native Americans.[114]

Still, the advocacy of many of the wide-ranging reforms noted above in the pages of the peace advocacy press (some of which were considered controversial) was not likely a sound strategy to help peace advocates win acceptance from the wider society. What, then, was going on? Obvious is a deep commitment on the part of peace advocates to articulate the full breadth of their positions on difficult issues, in the belief that the moral imperatives of their positions would be made apparent through the written word's persuasive powers. The wide publication of their right thinking would change people's minds.

G. Some Journalistic Strategies

And so notwithstanding the *Harbinger of Peace's* comment that it could not "address the imagination" of its readers, that it could "only appeal to the judgment and to the conscience," the peace press used a variety of strategies to communicate its message compellingly. As noted, essays predominated, with some fiction and poetry, as well as letters to the editor and short notices.

A primary effort was to gather and publicize what Christina Phelps has called "'statistics of war'--facts which illustrate its conditions and its evils, which show its futility."[115] Such articles characterized war as inimical to civilization and culture. Frequently they decried the organized Christian churches' "war degeneracy."

Starting with the *Friend of Peace* before 1820, stories of the horrors of war were a staple, particularly among the earlier peace advocacy periodicals. Viewing "peace as health," and war as "a disease, in the body politic," the *Friend of Peace* and its later colleagues did not always spare sensibilities in the accounting of war's human toll.[116] An article described the aftermath of the battle of Antietam during the recent Civil War in typically vivid terms. Men lay "dead, blackened, torn, disfigured, wounded; tended by no mother's hand, no sister's love...As they rose they fell dead; some with cigars in their lips, others with bread in their hands, and some holding the miniatures of loved ones far away."[117]

Among the unforgettable scenes in the wake of one of

Napoleon's battles is

> ...a stout-looking man, and a beautiful young woman, with an infant, about seven months old, at the breast, all three frozen and dead. The mother had most certainly expired in the act of suckling her child; as with one breast exposed she lay upon the drifted snow, the milk, to all appearance, in a stream drawn from the nipple by the babe, and instantly congealed. The infant seemed as if its lips had but just then been disengaged, and it reposed its little head upon the mother's bosom, with an overflow of milk, frozen as it trickled from the mouth.[118]

Such a tableau offered war as an assault on women as the embodiment of the prevailing values of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.[119]

War's toll on women was the focus of another article in the *Advocate of Peace*. The sufferings of compelling characters (a sergeant's wife, a "maniac mother") were detailed, to illustrate the point that "Women, being forced to part with lovers, husbands, sons, have often taken their own life in a frenzy of grief and despair, or fallen eventual victims to delirium, or some lingering disease that gnawed with fatal tooth on their vitals."[120]

Articles both described the appalling atrocities perpetuated by the soldier, and characterized war from the abused soldier's perspective.[121] The military's excessive use of corporal punishment for minor infractions of discipline was detailed (e.g., "On the first lash, the blood spirted [sic] out some yards; and after he had received fifty, his back from the neck to the waist, was one continued stream of blood").[122]

Another antiwar rhetorical strategy was to appeal to the pocketbook, illustrating war's high financial cost as well as the body counts. "Stop and consider facts and figures--then judge of our cause," urged the *Herald of Peace*. "Within the past 14 years, there have been nearly 2,000,000 lives lost by war, sanctioned by professedly Christian nations." The *Herald* claimed that the recent Civil War "cost the loss of 600,000 of our young and strong men; and the actual cost and loss in money, not less than $8,000,000,000." Thus, war preparation was equated with economic weakness.[123]

IV. Conclusion

This study suggests that the moral and ideological exclusion experienced by peace advocates may have significantly shaped their communication, in at least these ways:

a. Peace advocates greatly valued writing and publication as tools of persuasion to change public opinion, as much if not more so than other forms of personal activism such as public speaking and interpersonal, face-to-face communication. In their quest to cover issues they believed the mainstream press ignored, peace advocates emphasized quality writing. They aimed their periodicals toward a dual audience of the converted and the not yet convinced and attempted strategies to appeal to both groups.

b. At the same time, some peace advocates seemed self-conscious and comparatively serious about their written communication, perhaps in direct proportion to their level of insecurity about wider acceptance of their viewpoints.

c. Peace advocates acutely attended other media: reform, religious, and mainstream, which they scoured self-consciously for any legitimizing references to themselves and their peace advocacy endeavors.

d. Peace advocates may have been more willing to risk articulating their controversial positions on other issues of the day besides peace, not only because of the perceived connection to peace ideals, but perhaps also out of the sense of moral superiority and responsibility to educate society that membership in self-contained ideological bands engendered.

APPENDIX A:

A Taxonomy of Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy and Its Publications

Note: A wide variation in peace positions existed, from radical to reformist--from absolute pacifism, including Christian anarchism and nonresistance, to comparatively conservative peace advocacy which allowed for "defensive" war.

A. NONSECTARIAN

1. **State and regional peace societies**, e.g., **New York Peace Society** (founded 1815); **Massachusetts Peace Society** (founded 1815, published *Friend of Peace*, Boston and Cambridge, Mass., 1815-1827); **Pennsylvania Peace Society** (founded 1822, published *Advocate of Peace and Christian Patriot*, Philadelphia, Sept. 1828-June 1829); **Connecticut Peace Society** (founded 1831, published *American Advocate of Peace*, Hartford, Conn., 1834-1836)

2. **American Peace Society** (founded 1828; published *Angel of Peace* for children, Boston, started 1872; *A.P.S. Bulletin*, Washington, D.C., irregular; *Harbinger of Peace*, New York, 1828-1831; *Calumet*, New York, N.Y., 1831-1835; *Advocate of Peace*, Boston, 1837-1845, Worcester, Mass., 1846, Boston, 1846-1910, continued in 1910 in Washington, D.C., as *World Affairs*)

3. **New England Non-Resistance Society** (founded 1838, published *Journal of the Times*, Boston, antebellum period, irregular; *Liberator*, Boston, 1831-1865; *Non-Resistant*, Boston,

1839-1845)

4. **League of Universal Brotherhood** (founded 1846, published *Burritt's Christian Citizen*, Worcester, Mass., 1844-1851; *Bond of Brotherhood*, London and Worcester, Mass., 1846-1867)

5. **Universal Peace Union** (founded 1866 as Universal Peace Society, published *Bond of Peace*, Philadelphia, 1868-1874; *Voice of Peace*, Philadelphia, 1874-1882); *Peacemaker*, Philadelphia, 1883-1913)

B. SECTARIAN

1. **Members of the historic peace churches**

   a. **Brethren** (or Dunkers) and other Anabaptist remnants, many located in Pennsylvania (Brethren publications include *Gospel Visitor*, Covington and later Columbiana, Ohio, 1851-1873; *Christian Family Companion*, Tyrone, Pa., 1865-1873; *Primitive Christian*, Meyersdale and Huntingdon, Pa., 1873-1883; *Progressive Christian*, Berlin, Pa., and later Ashland, Ohio, 1878-1888; *Gospel Messenger*, Mount Morris and later Elgin, Ill., started 1883)

   b. **Mennonites** (publications include *Herald of Truth*, Chicago, Ill., 1864-1867 and Elkhart, Ind., 1867-1908; *Family Almanac*, Elkhart, Ind., 1870-1908 and Scottdale, Pa., 1908-1940)

   c. **Quakers** (publications include *Moral Advocate*, Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1821-1824; *Friends' Intelligencer*, Hicksite branch, Philadelphia, 1844-1955; *Friends'*

Review, evangelical wing in Orthodox branch, Philadelphia, 1847-1894; *Herald of Peace*, Chicago, 1868-1889; *Messenger of Peace*, Peace Association of Friends in America, New Vienna, Ohio, 1870-1887, Richmond, Ind., 1887-1890, Philadelphia, 1890-1943; *Christian Worker*, orthodox branch, New Vienna, Ohio, 1871-1894; *American Friend*, Richmond, Ind., 1894-1960)

2. **Communitarian-utopian groups emphasizing peace among their tenets**
   - a. **Harmonists** (or Rappists) (*New Harmony Gazette/Free Enquirer*, New Harmony, Ind., 1825-1835)
   - b. **Hopedale Community members** (*Practical Christian*, Milford, Mass., 1840-1860)
   - c. **Inspirationists** (of Amana), publications unknown;
   - d. **Oneida Community members** (publications include *Witness*, Putney, Vt., 1837-1846; *American Socialist*, Oneida, N.Y., 1876-1879; *Circular* [title varies], Brooklyn, N.Y., Oneida, N.Y., Wallingford, Conn., 1851-1876)
   - e. **Shakers** (*Shaker Manifesto* [title varies], Shakers, N.Y., Mount Lebanon, N.Y., Shaker Village, N.H., East Canterbury, N.H., 1871-1899)
3. **Others**
   - a. **Adventists** (*Advent Shield and Review*, Boston, 1844-1845; *Advent Christian Times*, Buchanan, Mich.; *Advent*

Review and Sabbath Herald, Paris, Me., Saratoga Springs, N.Y, Rochester, N.Y., Battle Creek, Mich., started 1850; *World's Crisis*, Boston, 1854-1892)

b. **Christadelphians**, publications unknown

d. **Disciples of Christ** (publications include *Christian Baptist*, Buffaloe [Bethany], Brooke County, Va. [W.Va.], 1823-1830; *Millennial Harbinger*, Bethany, Va. [W. Va.], 1830-1870; *Western Reformer*, Milton, Ind., 1843-1849; *Proclamation and Reformer*, Milton, Ind., 1850-1851; *American Christian Review*, Indianapolis, Ind., started 1856; *Disciples of Christ*, Cincinnati, 1884-1887)

e. **Osgoodites**, publications unknown

f. **Rogerenes**, publications unknown

APPENDIX B:

Selected Examples of Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy Publications

THE

FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. X.

BY PHILO PACIFICUS.

"*Glory to God in the highest—on earth* PEACE—*good will toward men.*"
Song of Angels.

CONTENTS.

Review of Consolations by Frederic II. King of Prussia, Part I. 3
Do. do. do. Part II. 8
Extracts from a Communication written by a Friend in the state of New-York, 11
The Trial by Jury compared with War, 14
Preparations for Peace, 17
Review of the Holy Alliance, and Imperial Manifesto, 20
Correspondence between the Massachusetts Peace Society and the Emperor of Russia and Prince Galitzin, 27
Letter from a Peace Society in London, to the Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, 30
Extract of a private letter from William Allen of London, 32
Facts Recorded, 33
From a Gentleman in Virginia, 36
From a Merchant in the Province of New-Brunswick, 37
From a Gentleman in the District of Maine to one of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Peace Society, 38
Complaint of Political Talents misapplied, 39
Hymn—Obituary—Notices, 40

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM,
No. 17, CORNHILL.
1817.

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The Advocate of Peace,

AND

CHRISTIAN PATRIOT.

"Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace."....Eph. iv. 3.
"Judge not."... Matt. vii. 1.
"If any man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that as he is Christ's, even so are we Christ's."....2 Cor. x. 7.
"Let us not therefore judge one another any more."....Rom. xiv. 13.
"He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me."....John xiv. 21.

VOL. I. PHILADEPHILA, JUNE, 1829. NOS. 10, 11, 12.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

We feel sincere regret in announcing to our subscribers that we are under the necessity of closing "The Advocate of Peace, and Christian Patriot," with the remaining three numbers, which we now present to them, as we took occasion to intimate in our last, unless an additional number of subscriptions could be obtained towards defraying the expense of publication. In taking leave of our readers, we congratulate them on the increasing ascendancy which the influence of pacific sentiments is gaining in the Christian circle. We feel no less zeal than heretofore in the cause of "Peace on earth, and good will towards men," which we would that the whole earth might reiterate, in grateful responses of "Glory to God in the highest:" nor can we expunge from our convictions, that in that unspeakable gift of infinite compassion, which rapturously prompted the angelic anthem, the Almighty condescending donor will not permit his word of promise to "return to him void," and we therefore joyfully anticipate the realization of that mighty energy which shall subdue the spirit of the warrior—of unbridled desire—of domineering rule—of revenge,—recrimination, and every other fancied greatness, "that exalts itself against the knowledge of God,—and bring every thought into the obedience of Christ." "Lord," so "let thy kingdom come!"

For the Advocate of Peace.

Continued from our last Number.

We shall now notice a declaration of the Christian's great Master and Lord, which has been alledged as affording countenance and authority, not only for resistance to oppression by hostile weapons, but for Christians to assume dictation in secular concerns. It has been contended that when Jesus Christ, before the Roman Governor, declared that his "kingdom was not of this world," &c. he meant it should be inferred, "that as he did not derive his power and authority from men but from God, he therefore claimed the right for himself and his followers to interfere in, and control all matters of civil polity."

But a little close examination will show that such an inference by no means follows, but one, as we conceive, widely different from it, and even opposed to it. Our Lord, in bearing witness before the Roman Governor, that his "kingdom was not of this world," plainly states what would have been the consequence if the reverse were the case. Let his words speak for themselves. "If my kingdom were of this world, *then would my servants fight that I should not* be delivered to the Jews:" "but now," i. e. acting as I do, "my kingdom is not from hence." Here the leading maxim of the world, viz. *resistance* to oppression and insult, is directly opposed to that *pa-*

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This work is published by M'Elrath & Bangs, No. 85 Chatham-street, New-York. The terms are one dollar per year for a single copy. Any person subscribing for five copies, will be entitled to a sixth *gratis*. Peace Societies taking 24 copies, or over, will be entitled to a discount of 33.1-3 per cent; under 24 copies, to 25 per cent. *Ministers* of the Gospel, procuring three subscribers, and being accountable therefor, will be entitled to one copy *gratis*.

AGENTS.

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Portland—Shirley and Hyde.

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MASSACHUSETTS.

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The previous numbers of the Harbinger may be obtained by applying to the above named agents. Also of the publishers, the Essays of Philanthropos, 1st and 2d series, Stones's Sermons on WAR, and The Sword, or Christmas Presents, a book for children and Sunday Schools.

One Sheet.

THE Harbinger of Peace.

NO. 5. SEPTEMBER, 1820. VOL. II.

"BLESSED ARE THE PEACE-MAKERS."

CONTENTS.

Defensive War . . . 97
A Soldiers Liberty of Conscience . . . 104
Christianity and Mahometanism . . . 106
Hingham Peace Society . . . 111
Plymouth County, do. do. . . . 111
The Idler . . . 113
Extract from the Bishop of Landaff's Speech . . . 116
Anecdotes . . . 116
War and Intemperance . . . 117
Martial Liberty . . . 117
Consistency . . . 117
Soldiers Life . . . 118
Jeremy Taylor . . . 118
Cromwell . . . 118
Frederick the Great . . . 119
POETRY.—Hymn to peace . . . 120

NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE AMERICAN
PEACE SOCIETY, BY M'ELRATH & BANGS,
85 CHATHAM-STREET.

1820.

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Two sheets.

THE CALUMET.

NEW SERIES OF THE HARBINGER OF PEACE.

O. 5. JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1832. VOL. I.

"BLESSED ARE THE PEACE-MAKERS."

CONTENTS.

Page
Oration delivered before the Peace Society in the Theological Seminary, Andover, : : : : 123
Discovery of the Safety Lamp, : 132
The Congreve Rocket, : : : 134
The Safety Lamp and the Congreve Rocket compared, : : 136
Massachusetts Peace Society, : : 137
War and Peace contrasted, : 141
Extracts from the 10th Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society, 143
Page
Trait in the character of Howard, : 146
Claims of the American Peace Society, : : : : : : 147
Letter of Benjamin Franklin, : : 152
Extract from Tales of a Grandfather, 154
Unchristian Patriotism, : : 156
Pacific effects of Christianity, : 158
Greece—Woes of War, : : 159
POETRY.
What is Time, : : : 160
Prayer, : : : 160

NEW-YORK:
DEWEY'S PRESS, 17 ANN-STREET
1832.

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THE BOND OF PEACE.

"All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness."

VOL. 1. NO. 5. PHILADELPHIA, MAY, 1868. 60 CTS. PER YEAR.

THE PEACE-FUL ELEMENT OF
JESUS.

"*If I may touch but his clothes* I SHALL BE WHOLE," confidently expressed the long afflicted Jewess as she bent low, and touched the extreme border; the hem of her Savior's garment and by that touch was instantly healed. See Mark V Chapter.—28 verse.

The especial use we wish to make of this volume speaking incident in the short but eventful career of the Nazirite Physician is to reflect from the pure mirror of his life, THE JESUS NATURE, whose fame, indeed as he traversed the cities of Israel healing by word and contact indiscriminately, the sick, the lame, the halt, the dumb, spread suddenly through the land and *the* PEOPLE especially the poor, the outcast, the indigent, and suffering gathered after the Christ in vast numbers and following the great being teacher, listened eagerly to his words of soothing counsel. And to such a height had the fever of excitement, and intense interest in his soul entrancing doctrines and cures, culminated on this occasion that by the crowding of the populace even the Fisherman of Galilee, his more intimate disciples, were for the moment pressed away, from their leader. This seemed the accepted time for this daughter of Israel, her whole soul fixed with steady purpose and thrilling with faith, not yet understanding the sure soul intelligence which the Electric draught would certainly inform the finely strung nervous system of Jesus, that vitality had gone out of him, a portion of his all healing virtue had just been involuntarily communicated to another, she pressed forward and eagerly clasped in her hand the magnetically charged folds of his vesture. But in instantly turning, Jesus inquires "who touched me?" and seeing the abashed and trembling maiden kneeling before him, Said to her,—And O how sweet and hope inspiring to her happy heart must have been the music of his melodious voice. "Daughter thy FAITH hath made thee whole, go in *peace* and be healed of thy plague.—" In the rich benevolence of his soul, Jesus waits not to hear the soul song of her joy, which methinks ran thus; Glory to God in the highest, Praise Praise to Israel's Lord and King, I only craved a *cure*, but in blessing he doth bless me, and adds to my healing PEACE. "O Praise to Jesus Praise."—He turns to divide his virtues with many others who were still pressing round to test his power to save.

"All hail the power of Jesus' name
Jesus the name that soothes our fears
It bids our sorrows cease
Tis music in the sinners ear
Tis LIFE, *'tis* HEALTH *and Peace.*"

O how we have yearned to know to understand the real source of the blest healing force of Jesus, we love to read the story of his meek yet god-like nature. We alluded in our article upon "Angel and Spirit" lately published in "The Bond" to the peculiar spirit manner of his life.—ECCE HOMO "Behold the MAN," Says his cousin John, and we feel the more interested to know more of all of his history:

Contemplating him in his very plain and abstemious manner of living, we find him remarkably and strictly exclusive in his habits, a NAZARITE from his birth, he ever conformed to the requirements of that priestly sect: in the strictest sense, and though far from being exempt from the imperfection of our nature—for by *suffering only* was he made *perfect*, yet was he strictly self-denying and in dietetic habits, abstemious to a close religious degree carefully conforming, we doubt not to the manner of the peculiar diet predicted of him years before.

"*Butter and honey shall he eat that* he may KNOW to *choose the good* and REFUSE *the evil.*

But Jesus the Nazarene, the son of Joseph the obscure carpenter, was of course a Jew and we may reasonably suppose not without some of the prejudices of Jewish nation. And the peculiar people we know were immense devourers of ANIMAL food, not only in Egypt among the onions and leeks, but also throughout their national career, such indeed was their fearful and beastly greediness for fleshly food that among the first dietary measures which their leader Moses enacted was one restricting them by law to certain specific kinds of animals, and still such was their beastly voraciousness that even with the flesh of the Quails in their mouth they yet murmured for more, and even then such was the extent of unwholesome putrefying flesh in their camps that a wide spread plague broke suddenly among them, from this very cause, sweeping them away by thousands.

That a personal nature like that of Jesus should spring from such a corrupt statu: stock, magnifies to us indeed the mystery of godliness, though mayhap, we err not *knowing* the *power* of God; yet we wish to be understood distinctly here, that we positively believe that such an amiable kind and lamb-like nature as that possessed by the Lord Jesus, could be born of *no other* woman than the Holy Mary

Placed in the temple by her extremely religious parents, from her birth and kept constantly there day and night praying and praising in the soul consecrating service of YAH VEH, becoming thus practically herself a Nazarene. Devoted thus exclusively to the Physically refining and spiritually purifying service of the Temple her thoughts, all her aspirations were holy beautiful and good and to still impart a greater fixedness and placidity to this soul enrapturing condition an angel appears to her suddenly in the midst of her devotions and after assuring her of his kindly mission tell her she has found especial favor with God. "Behold thou shalt conceive and bear a son and shalt call his name Emanuel, Jesus &c;

Thus the devotional frame of mind with which the angel found the mother of our Lord was calculated to "stir the divinity within" and increase the fervour and devotional strength of her spiritual nature, and you know it to be *natural law*, "That *like begets like*," so that "*The manners of the mother mold the child*"

As circumstances an incident in life's arts suddenly up, remaining vividly before the mind, of the mother, in this condition—of course her conclusions her *thoughts* and *feelings* are instantly *impressed* on the quickning child, which is indeed as susceptible to the *thought impression* of the mother, as the plastic wax to the warming rays of the sun.

Then, if as they must have been amid the solemn service of the temple the music the songs of worship and the sweet soul assuring words of the amiable angel—the thought impressions of Mary were beautiful pure and good, what could hinder the like condition being transmitted in harmonious impression upon the holy substance with which she had indeed conceived. Thus did the "Holy Ghost," as announced by the angel "overshadow her," and we wonder no longer that Jesus was called the son of GOOD. God governs in the moral world as indeed He does in the Physical by regular law, though according to the record there appears but one Jesus who is recognized in an especial sense and by an emphatic manifestation from the spirit sphere to be THE SON of GOD, and shall we be deemed presumptuous if we confess, we have Some times wondered at the remarkable fact that in the vast arcanum of natures varied assemblage of atoms monads and purer essences that remarkably peculiar and especial *combination* has never occurred but the once to produce so great and good a being as Jesus the Galilean.

But aside from the seeming recognition, and joy of surrounding nature at his birth, there were other matters *affecting directly* Mary his mother which she deemed of sufficient importance to *treasure in her heart*. "For the child was sent for the rise and fall of many in Israel, and for a sign that should be spoken against that the *thoughts* of many hearts should be *revealed*—"

And he grew and waxed strong in spirit, being filled with all wisdom; and the grace of God was full upon him "For the Father giveth not the spirit by measure unto him, but in him dwelleth all the *fulness* of the Godhead bodily." God *was in Christ* bringing the people into blest harmony with himself, for the spirit principle of Jesus tabernacling in the FORM of sinful flesh, even the seed of Abraham the Jew, "was enabled by a course of *suffering* to become the *perfect* captain of their salvation". Besides, see him as early as the age of twelve years, disputing and debating with the Priests and doctors in the Temple in so much that they were completely astonished, and wondered at his spiritual wisdom, his understanding of and answers to their knotty questions'

But we have sometimes queried:

What was Jesus doing during all those years of seclusion from the age of twelve until thirty, the period when he appeared in public to preach for the first time. Were these years of indolent in action on the part of the obscure carpenter's son, we trow not, for though without doubt Jesus faithfully assisted his father Joseph at his vocation we believe, he was also heartily intent on preparing himself for the righteous prosecution of his after mission, as a light to lighten the gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel, "not slothful in business, but *fervent*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Bond of Peace.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.
By E. James & Daughter,
NO. 600 ARCH STREET.
PHILADELPHIA.

EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF
THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION,
AMERICAN BRANCH.

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ABOLISH THE CAUSES AND CUSTOM OF WAR.
"GOODWILL TO ALL MEN" IS "PEACE ON EARTH"

2, n·1 PHILA., JANUARY, 1869.

THE NEW YEAR.

A warm greeting of Peace and Good Will to all our friends. We come to you in a new dress and we ask of you each and every one renewed interest in our *Bond of Peace.*

The present number is not enlarged in size, for the reason that we have not yet received a sufficient number of subscribers and advertisers to warrant the increased expense.

We have been favored with an addition to our lists, and we are full of gratitude for the encouragement; but we hold it one of the first principles of peace to be careful in creating liabilities.

The Radical Peace movement is one of momentous importance and in our efforts to aid it, we wish to avoid becoming involved in finances.

True we have lost several hundred dollars and received no compensation for our labors, but if our friends will renew their subscriptions at $1.00 per annum and send to us soon this amount, and as many new subscribers and advertisers as possible, we will be able to double the size of our sheet with the next issue and shall not regret the time and money we have spent.

But it must depend upon our friends. Our cause is just and our principles immutable.

In looking over the past we would return our sincere thanks to George W. Childs our enterprising neighbour of the Public Ledger, for his donation of $50; to Rachel W. M. Townsend and Alfred H. Love for their promises to add $25 each; to Thomas Garrett for his liberal donations from time to time, and to Edward M. Davis, Deborah Marot, William Chase and others for their timely contributions.

We call especial attention to the encouragement of such friends as Jonathan Whipple of Mystic Conn. who has sent us forty subscribers; Levi K. Joslin who takes and distributes thirty copies a month; Clayton B. Rogers who subscribes for ten new parties for this year. A. H. Love who has sent us several lists of ten subscribers each, Lydia A. Schofield, Dr H. T. Child, Thomas Haskell, W. E. Hoyt, Sarah Crosby, Sarah B. Dugdale and others who are sending us subscribers and evincing the heartiest interest

May you all, good friends, have a happy and osperous New Year, and may we return your erous offerings with our enlarged edition as as next month.

THE LATE INDIAN MASSACRE.

In a dispatch to the Press of this city we find the following:

"Col. Wynkoop left here yesterday. He believes the late fight of Gen. Custar, on the Washita was simply a massacre, and says Black Kettle and his band were friendly Indians on their own reservation, when attacked."

Next in enormity, almost, to the crime of war, is the practice of misrepresenting, by official reports the real facts.

We know that the grossest falsehoods were frequently reported during the late war and now we are to have the country filled with excitement by false reports and gross misrepresentation, which are eagerly sought by those who have determined upon the extermination of the Red-man.

We hope that the officials will not continue such a course as will drive all honest and humane men from the care of the Indians, and yet it seems as if the Nation is not sufficiently aroused to do any thing like justice in this cause.

We know there are noble men and true women laboring for the relief of the Red-man and there is a strong feeling of sympathy among the more reflecting classes who realize something of the condition of the Indian and know something of the injustice that has been, and is being done this race of men, many of whom present the noblest traits of human character, and deserve for their fidelity and honor to be given that freedom and all those rights which we accord to men of other nations. who find an asylum in our country.

The Red-man the Aborigince of this country has stronger claims to citizenship and representation in the Government of this land, and when pure religion is realized in our country and by our people, the rights of all men and women will be respected and held sacred, till then we can have no real peace or security. G.

OUR MEMORIAL IN BEHALF OF THE INDIANS.

HON CHARLES SUMNER says:

Senate Chamber 16th Dec. 1868.

I shall have pleasure in presenting the memorial which you have forwarded.

Accept my thanks for your good wishes.

HON. LEONARD MYERS SAYS:

I presented your memorial, and am always glad to hear from you.

Wash Dec. 17th 1868.

THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SAYS:

Indian Office Washington, D. C.,
Dec. 17th 1868.

Alfred H. Love, President Uniervsal Peace Society.

Sir:—Your kind note of approval is received. I beg you to accept my grateful acknowledgements for your expressions of encouragement and sympathy.

Your noble "memorial" is also to hand and in its general sentiment I most heartily concur.

Hoping that universal Peace, based on universal justice and charity may soon bless our world. I remain

Very respectfully your friend and servant
N G. Taylor.

Letter from Hon. Amasa Walke

North Brookfield, Dec.
I have received several numb
"Bond of Peace" and am so muc
with its spirit, that I inclose you
tion for the next year. I trust yo
friends will persevere in the good
which you are engaged of promot
and good will among men. It ha
happiness to labor in the cause, i
tion with the American Peace S
other similar organizations for
thirty years. At present we are
little in this region, but I lose no
faith in the final triumph of our
far from it, I never saw greater
its onward progress than at the pr
ment. The statesmen of England
ackhowledge and advocate our leadi
ciples, and the working men of a
are beginning to act under a conscio
the terrible evils of the war system,
uniting their energies for its supp
On every hand there is greater
ment than I ever knew before.
Your obituary notice of our excelle
Joshua P. Blanchard in the Bond
cember is excellent, and quite true.
one of the great apostles of Peace, d
more time, labor and money to the
than almost any other man, during
and active life.
Wishing you much success in your
I am your friend
Amasa Walke

Ed. We cordially commend the M
Political Economy "The Science of W
by our earnest and gifted friend
Walker, to the attentive perusal of th
of Peace.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

In the recent trial of Geo. Twitchell for
we had a striking illustration of the grow
popularity of Capital punishment in the
than thirty, out of about one hundred,
asked to be excused from conscientious
(we should say convictions) against capit
ishment.
The probability is that many of those w
excused because they had formed opinion
case were of this class also
It is not well that the best and most
tious persons should be compelled by thei
entious convictions to leave the adminis
justice to men who coolly announce th
"have no conscientious scruples." If t
of the law is to punish crime, and protec
the enforcement of the death penalty is
because many criminals escape this who w
imprisoned if the law would allow the d
to be given to the jury to say whether it
imprisonment or death.
We understand that our fellow-laborer
H. Bovee, has already succeeded in obtai
tues to this effect in four of the States.
to see the time when they shall become
and thus human life be held as it really is
Capital punishment has always failed in
ing or preventing any of the crimes for
has been prescribed, and we are certain eve
The power that is to reform the world
and when this abounds more freely and
sally, the gibbet will be a relic of the b
of the past.

[For the Bond of Peace.]

THE RHODE ISLAND RADICAL PEACE S
held a meeting in Pawtucket, at Temp
Hall, on Sunday the 15th inst. comme
at 2 o'clock P. M.
L. K. Joslin, President of the S
opened the meeting with a declaration
own through condemnation of all
claiming that, if the killing of one

---

nother, wilfully
then the wilfully
many men by a
also murder. I
cruelty of war, i
victims.
Zebulon P. Wh
in explanation
this meeting, w
Churches, profes
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funding and sust
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side of these so
The discussio
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rett and others.
of the settlemen
the shedding of
Mr. Joslin of
Proceedings of t
Universal Peace
in May last. H
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have most to do
doing what he t
In the evenin
speakers, Mrs.
dressed the mee
taking the gro
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long as we al
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he Bond of Peace.

A MONTHLY JOURNAL

To Remove the Causes and Abolish the Customs of War.

—No. 1. [NEW SERIES.] } PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 1871. {$1 per Annum. [IN ADVANCE.]

SELECTIONS.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

BY CHARLES WILLIAMS.

as no right to take the life of his fellow man. He is a proba-
entrusted with responsibilities, invested with privileges.
arged with duties. He is commissioned with authority over
er animals. He has received, direct from the hands of his
the insignia of royalty, the stamp of superiority; and to
can confidently appeal as the Author of that blessing which
ed upon him "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over
vls of the air, and over every creeping thing that creepeth
e face of the earth."

there is a limit to his authority. His prerogative, compre-
as it is, has yet its definite bounds. Whilst he may use
er animals without inflicting unnecessary pain, as his cou-
e and his wants may prescribe; whilst he may lawfully take
ves when his safety or his necessities require; whilst he may
the wayward and the froward of his own species, and enforce
regulations for the well-being of society; he may never go
extreme length of depriving the refractory culprit of life, as
shment for his evil deeds. "Hitherto shalt thou come, but
her," was the mandate that of old set bounds to the rolling
and restrained its restless billows within their prescribed

And it would seem that the bounds which have been set
authority of man, the barrier which he may on no account
pass and be guiltless, is the disposal of human life.

reference to this great line of demarcation between author-
nted and powers withheld, He speaks to us in that dread
e which "sets bars and doors" to our prerogative, forbidding
erstep the boundaries assigned, lest the blood of our brother
o God for vengeance.

he power over the lives of our fellow man is committed to
e, it must be either a natural or a vested right. If a nat-
ght, it is inherent in all: any one may lawfully slay his fel-
n whenever his passions prompt him with sufficient energy.
e all equal by nature: if I hold my brother's life an easy
e, by the same rule, and by the same right, he may place no
value upon mine. Existence would then become a struggle;
of individual strength and skill. Under such a régime the
faculties of our nature chiefly, would be cultivated; and MAN,
d of the creation, would degenerate into a barbarian:—he
be simply what we see him in the primitive stages of so-
the highest order of animals. His lower propensities, gross
gorous in their character, ask not the fostering care of genial
e to encourage them to spring up into luxuriant growth.
noxious weeds in the garden, they grow spontaneous and
nt; they overrun and smother the more delicate and pre-
but less obtrusive plants which are the special care of the
er, and which require to be nourished with cautious and
t attention. Hence the power of life and death cannot be
d to be a natural right, unless we would forego the blessings
lization, and lose the refining and endearing ties that bind us to each other in that social union which is the crown and glory of enlightened society.

On the other hand, if it is a vested right, it must be conferred on us by some revelation of the will of God: as in no other way can we acquire those great moral prerogatives, save by the inherent rights of nature, by the direct communication of the Divine will, or by unavoidable inference from other powers conferred upon us, and the immediate necessities of our situation. If the right to take the life of our fellow man is vested in man at all, it must have been given at some time, direct and positive. So awful a responsibility would surely not be left to a dubious inference from collateral duties. If no definite and precise command is found conferring on man the right to dispose of human life, then we will do well to look closely to the ground on which such a claim is founded. If the power is really given, it must have had a beginning,—at some time the mandate must have gone forth, Be thou the arbiter of life and death.

But where can this be found? Not in the Decalogue, surely. THOU SHALT NOT KILL is there enjoined as one of the fundamental rules on which human society was to be based. If stealing is a sin, if bearing false witness is a sin, then it follows with imperative force that taking the life of our fellow man is a sin at least as flagrant. *Thou shalt not kill.* The rule is absolute,—unequivocal,—universal, as far as the language of man can make it so. It is not obscured with conditions; it is not clogged with exceptions. Plain, simple, direct, and positive, if we admit the Decalogue to be of any authority in the affairs of men,—and society has ever assumed it as the basis of its code both civil and moral; the higher its tone the more closely does it profess to adhere to its teachings,—we must admit that the wilful destruction of human life is enrolled among the most enormous crimes.

Infinite Wisdom thought it necessary to give but ten rules for the government of man, created in His own image, and only a little lower than the angels,—ten rules regulating his conduct toward his God and toward his fellow man. These ten simple rules are found to embody all the duties of good citizenship, all the elements of true religion; and the most searching scrutiny and profound research of the ablest metaphysicians the world has ever produced, have totally failed to discover any new principle not embodied in this comprehensive code, or to add any duty to the law given to Moses on Mount Sinai.

It would appear then, that so far from its being a Divinely sanctioned right to take the life of a fellow creature, it is made one of the cardinal, one of the fundamental crimes against man and against God. A Being of infinite attributes promulgated a code of universal government, embodying every principle requisite to make the human family perfect in their relative and religious duties. He has taken care to guard its original declaration with such a network of evidence that Christians reverently admit it as the revelation of His will, and reasonable sceptics respect it as among the most noble and dignified relics of the primitive days of man, as a precious legacy of the wisdom of the past, entailing a rich inheritance for all succeeding ages.

The command, then, Thou shalt not kill, may be considered as embodying *one-tenth*, numerically, of our combined duties. Accept this, with its nine cognate and coördinate principles, and human

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—The Phil'a Press.

THE

Voice of Peace.

REMOVE THE CAUSES AND ABOLISH THE CUSTOMS OF WAR.

VOL. II. PHILADELPHIA & MYSTIC, APRIL, 1873. No. 4.

For The Voice.

THE RELIC OF BARBARISM.

BY REV. PHEBE A. HANAFORD.

Away with the gallows! that relic of days
When Might over Right could prevail,
And none could lift up the loud voice of complaint,
None utter the low, plaintive wail.

'Tis a relic of tyranny, speaking of days
When war was the rule and employ,
When the spear and the bow were the playthings of men,
And to slay was their pastime and joy.

Shall the ages roll on with this burden, this weight,
This draw-back to progress and peace?
Shall the future be cursed with the ghastly and grim?
Will the shedding of blood never cease!

O, God, who hast promised, to Thee still we look,
Though weary we watch for the day,
When the mists shall all vanish, the morning star shine,
And the infamous gallows decay.

When the sword shall be sheathed and the armories closed,
And no epaulettes honor bestow,
While the race shall move on in the march of that host
Who the Might of the Right ever know.

For the Voice.

CITIZENSHIP AND MORAL REFORM.

Full citizenship under any civil government includes eligibility to vote and hold office, as a partner in the government. And, if voluntarily accepted and exercised, it binds the citizen to support the constitution and laws of the State or nation in whose government he makes himself a partner—at least till he can lawfully and peaceably get them amended. Under the General and State governments of this country the rights and obligations of voting citizenship are plainly defined. Every voter is a co-equal partner in [illegible] prerogatives and duties of citizenship. Who are his co-equal partners? All voters, good, bad and indifferent, declared such by the constitution and laws. Each one of them is his peer, and the legal majority must rule, backed by the sceptre, purse and sword. Does he agree to all this? Yes, the moment he voluntarily acts as a citizen. So we see what fellowship he chooses to unite with, and what bonds he puts himself under.

Well, this man is a moral reformer. He wants to bring all his governmental partners under Temperance laws, or under Anti-Slavery laws, or under Labor Reform laws, or under Woman's Rights laws, or under Communist laws, or under alleged Christian laws, or under Peace laws. What can he do, and how far can he consistently push his specialty of reform, as a *loyal citizen?* Can he excommunicate any brother voter, or make any new test of membership in the body politic? Yes: if he can by any means get the Constitution and laws altered for that purpose. To do this, he must win the necessary voting or legislative majority. What if he cannot obtain such majority? Then he is bound to abide by and support the majority that *is*. Has he not bound himself to do this? Yes. The Constitution that *is*, and the laws that *be*, and the brotherhood of governing citizens that *rule*, are *his*. He may think them fools, knaves, scoundrels or murderers, and denounce them as such: but, nevertheless they are *his peers*, with whom he has leagued himself, to carry forward the civilization of the world. And, if they are rather reluctant to hurry up the millennium, he must wait a little till they are ready, and not get too far ahead of them. Voting, legislation and coercion will not do his work till he can

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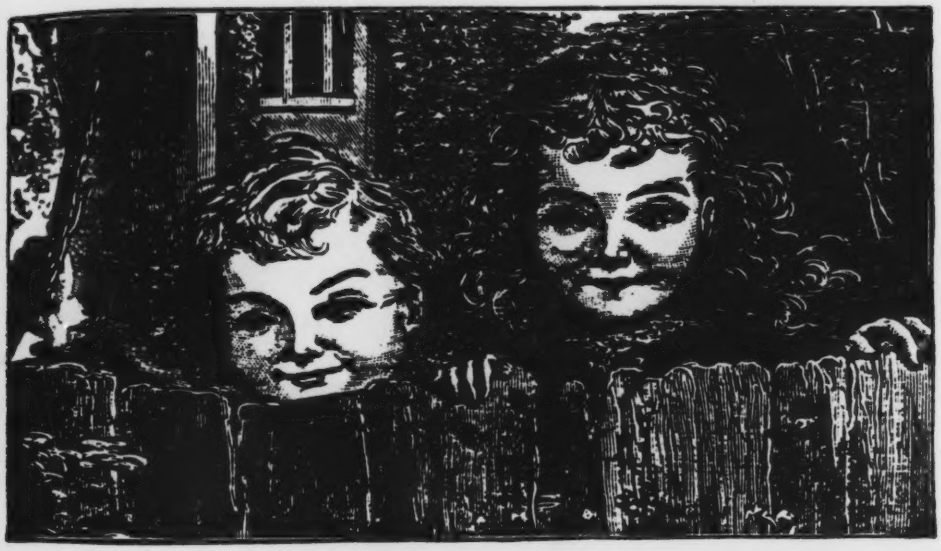
THE

PEACEMAKER.



OUR VOLUME TWO.

At the commencement of Volume II. we greet our friends with a picture—portraits of two pet children. It has been said:

> We love a girl for what she is; you see ?
> A boy for what we hope he is to be.

And so it is with our two pet volumes of the **Peacemaker**. Judging from numerous expressions by the press and correspondents the first volume has already won a place for the **Peacemaker** in the hearts of its friends, both old and young; and with the aid of art and an increased effort to present in an attractive form the beautiful thoughts of the most enlightened and faithful teachers of mankind, calculated to

> "Calm the ruffled tempers of the world,"

to say to the angry billows of strife and contention,

> "Peace; be still,"

we bespeak for our second volume a largely extended circle of readers and friends.

To our liberal friends who have by their efforts contributed so much to the possibility of its continued existence, we return our sincere thanks; and we hope the second volume will win its way to many new homes.

The present number is necessarily taken up largely with the account of the Seventeenth Anniversary of the Universal Peace Union and the Report of the Executive Board, deemed necessary to preserve a record of the progress made during the past year. To earnest peace-workers these details present matters of great interest. The Treasurer's Report (page 3), in comparison with that of last year (page 33, Vol. I.), shows that since the publication of the **Peacemaker** the income of the Society from various sources has more than doubled: but the expenses have proportionately increased, as a large number of each issue has been sent out to introduce peace principles where they have been hitherto but little thought of. It is not the object to accumulate funds on hand, but to use whatever is received for the immediate prosecution of the great work which the Society has undertaken.

Vol. II. No. 1. Whole No., 13. July, 1883.

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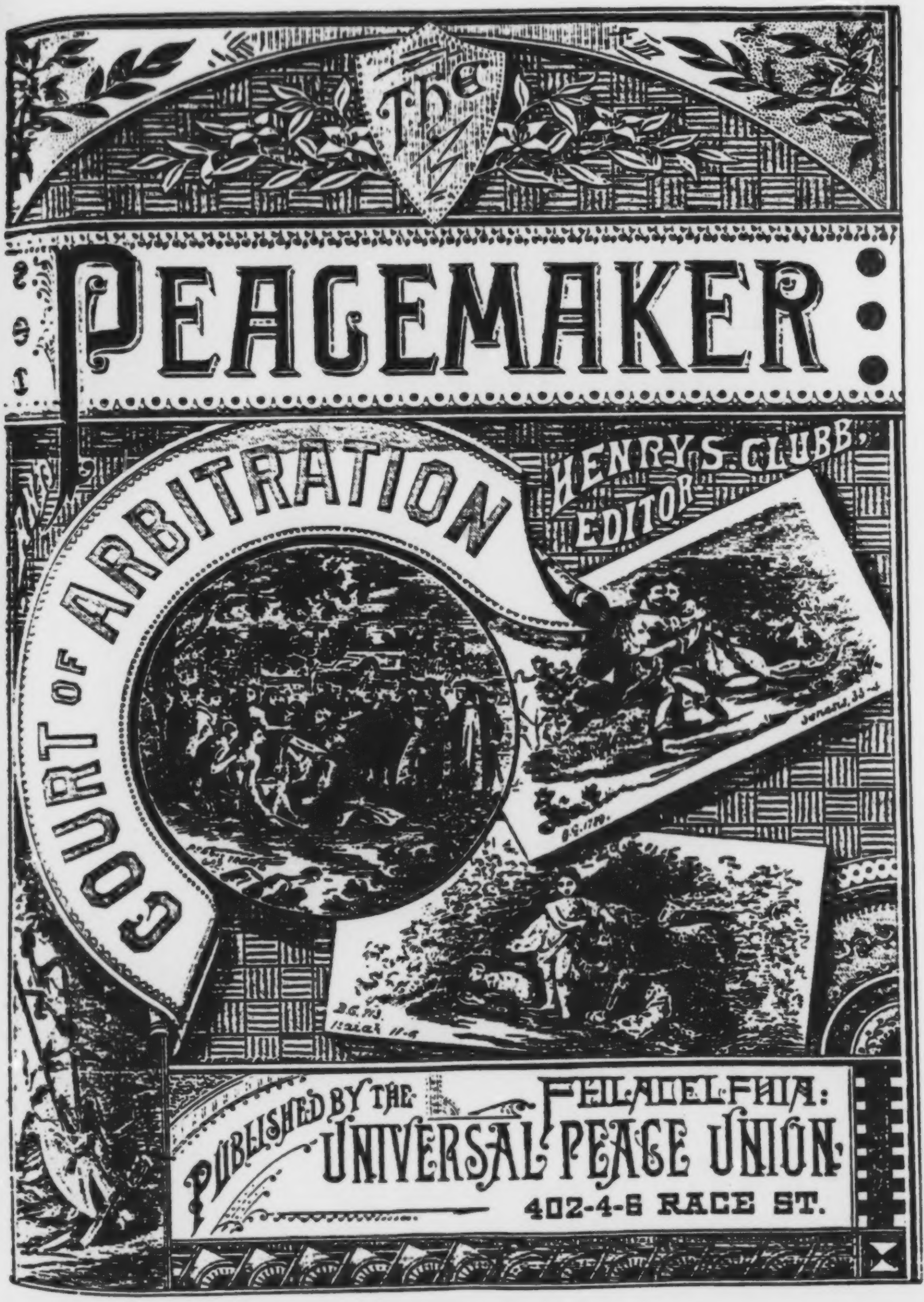
THE
PEACEMAKER:
COURT OF ARBITRATION
HENRY S. CLUBB, EDITOR
PUBLISHED BY THE
PHILADELPHIA:
UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION
402-4-6 RACE ST.

VOLUME III.

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THE

PEACEMAKER.

VOLUME III.

THE PEACEMAKER, in entering upon the third year of its existence, congratulates its friends and supporters on the improved condition and prospects of the peace movement, and especially the increasing favor with which the principle of arbitration is being regarded by governments and peoples throughout the world. About forty instances of international arbitration have already been accomplished. During the official career of Signor Mancini, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Italy, nearly all the commercial treaties negotiated have contained provisions for referring misunderstandings to arbitration. About nineteen such treaties have been negotiated, and one of the last was between Italy and England, which was made a subject of special congratulation by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice in a letter to Henry Richard, M. P., the Secretary of the English Peace Society. All the British claims against Chili have, by special treaty, been referred to a Tribunal of Arbitration. In fact, since the notable Alabama arbitration at Geneva, settling a difficulty with any American Republic by resort to force by any European nation, has not been thought of; and, as President Arthur declared to a recent peace delegation: "It is a matter of great satisfaction that these principles are making great progress; indeed, I may say that it is almost settled now that we shall be at peace with other nations."

The apparent certainty that President Arthur's successor will carry out his plan for a Peace Convention of all American nationalities, which his election will prove to have received the approval of a majority of the people of this country, as his nomination has that of his party; the recognition itration in the party platform, and the almost universal approval of it on the part of the press, show that this nineteenth century will, in all human probability, witness the n of arbitration in place of war on the whole American Continent, if not the whole

To accomplish this object is the work to which the PEACEMAKER is devoted, and for this moral aspects of the subject are discussed in its pages. On this account we bespeak the thy and pecuniary support of all patriotic and benevolent people.

The PEACEMAKER is yet published at great pecuniary loss to its publishers, notwithstanding already received, and we respectfully and earnestly entreat its friends to promptly renew own subscription, and, if possible, duplicate the same by sending at least one subscription their own.

OL. III. No. 1. WHOLE NO., 25. JULY–AUGUST, 1884.

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by:
date:

TO

LUCRETIA MOTT,

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIE

ON THE NINETY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HER BIRTH,

January 3, 1884.

FRIEND of the suffering and oppressed,
In ways to fame unknown,
Although from earth thou hast progressed
To circles near the throne.

LUCRETIA MOTT,

Born of Quaker Parents, on the Island of Nantuckett, Mass., 1792. Died November 11th, 1880, in the 88th year of her Age. A life spent in the cause of humanity.

She did her own thinking, and lived to a ripe old age of usefulness, and was not afraid to die.

No slave ever sought thy shelter in vain,
When seeking freedom's goal;
No sufferer, whatsoever his pain,
But thou wouldst first console,
Then seek thy best relief to kindly give,
By quiet ways and wise.
A sweet inspiration seemed to live
Within thy love-lit eyes.

We cannot omit the annual thou
Devoutly given to thee,
As in the sweet remembrance we
Thy worth in life to see.

While in the courts of
Thou struck a chord sub
With deeds of love;
Now thou art gone highe
To strike the golden lyre
In courts above.

We feel that thou wilt still
Work out God's good-will
And never cease
Till justice, freedom, tru
(Ideal of thy youth,)
Establish peace.

No better purpose can
Inspire the heart of man
In this late day
Than that which stirred
When thou didst bear a
In earth's affray.

In Europe's armed host,
Of which the nations bo
Is bondage sore;
The people ground to ea
On land that gave them
They seek a shore
Where armies need not
And navies plow the sea
And slay no more.

Oh, may we never more
Bestrew our land with go
Nor stain the sea.
May truth and justice live,
And their rich blessings g
And all agree.
So shall thy purpose grand
Lucretia,—thy demand—
Accomplished be.

Thy country, the world, in greate
Thy countrymen, mankind,
Thy effort was suffering to redress;
With sympathizing mind.
Oh, friend of the poor and the opp
In every land and clime,
Thy memory forever will be blesse
Thy life is all sublime.

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Messenger of Peace.

Motto: "Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good Will to Men."

VOL. XV ELEVENTH MONTH, 1885. NO. 11

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE
Something New 161
Ministers of the Gospel 162
The Growing Anti-War Sentiment 165
W. C. T. U. Peace Department 166
Two Scenes 167
Editorial 168
Home Views at Short Range 169
The Prose of War 171
Children 172
A Queer Recruiting Officer 173
Wide Awake 173
A Beautiful Death 174
Advertisements 175
List of Peace Publications 176

Advocate of Peace
1 Somerset st

THE Messenger OF Peace

is published monthly by the Secretary of the "Peace Association of Friends in America." It is filled with facts and arguments to prove that war is unchristian, inhuman, and unnecessary. That if men and women of intelligence were as anxious to find a remedy as they are to find an apology for war, the self-imposed scourge of our race would soon be banished from the civilised world. It advocates the brotherhood of mankind, and that *we can not injure another without injuring ourselves*. Terms, Fifty Cents per annum, or 5 copies sent to one address for Two Dollars. *Free* to ministers of the gospel of all denominations who will read and recommend it to their congregations.

Address DANIEL HILL,
New Vienna, Clinton Co., Ohio

According to the philosopher Dick, war has destroyed fourteen billions of human beings since man was first placed upon the earth.

Some authors put the number much higher: but, taking Dick's estimate as basis, the loss of life will be as follows:

2,333,333 annually.
194,444 monthly.
6,481 daily.
270 every hour.
4½ every minute.

Shall the sword devour forever? Not if God's Word is true. Christians, come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

Andover Theological seminary will receive $25,000 from the estate of the late Mrs. William Richardson, of Manchester, N. H. The American Bible Society receives about the same amount, according to the lady's will.

Something Sure.

"What a pity nothing ever
Has a beauty that will stay!"
Said our thoughtful little Nellie,
Stopping briefly in her play.
"All these velvet pansies withered,—
And I picked them just to-day!"

"And there's nothing very certain,"
Answered Bess with face demure;
"When it rains we can't go driving,—
I wish promises were truer!
I could rest, if I were certain
Of a single thing that's sure!"

Grandma smiled from out her corner,
Smoothing back a soft gray tress:
"Sixty seconds make a minute,
Did you know it, little Bess?—
Sixty minutes makes an hour,
Never more, and never less.

"For the seconds in a minute,
Whether full of work or fun,
Or the minutes in an hour,
Never numbered sixty-one!
There is one thing that is certain
Ever since the world begun.

"Though the rose may lose its crimson,
And the buttercup its gold,
There is something through all changes,
You may always surely hold:
Truth can never lose its beauty,
Nor its strength, by growing old."

Mrs. Julia P. Ballard.

It is no great matter to live lovingly with good-natured, humble and meek persons; but he who can do so with the forward, willful, ignorant, peevish and perverse hath true charity.—Thomas a Kempis.

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Messenger of Peac

Motto: *"Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good Will to Men."*

VOL. XV TWELFTH MONTH, 1885 NO. 12

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE
Love and Hatred.................................. 177
Dialogue Between John Hall and George Bell.. 177
A Mistake Regarding th Peace Society............ 181
A Field Battery in Action.......................... 182
Brutal Sport.. 183
War.. 183
Editorial 184
W. C. T. U. Peace Department...................... 186
He'll Not Wait.. 187
Co-Workers 187
The Schoolmarm's Story............................ 188
Kiss Them Good-Night.............................. 189
Advertisements...................................... 191
List of Peace Publications......................... 192

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Shall the sword devour forever? Not if God's Word is true. Christians, come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

To any body who has disease of throat or lungs, we will send proof that Piso's Cure Consumption has cured the same complaints in other cases. Address,

E. T. HAZELTINE, Warren, Pa.

LOVE AND HATRED.

Now by the mercies of my God,
His sharp distress, His sore complaints,
By His last groans, His dying blood,
I charge my soul to love the saints.

Clamour, and wrath, and war begone,
Envy and spite forever cease;
Let bitter words no more be known
Amongst the saints, the sons of peace.

Tender and kind be all our thoughts,
Through all our lives let mercy run:
So God forgive our numerous faults,
For the dear sake of Christ his Son.

The Spirit, like a peaceful dove,
Flies from the realms of noise and strife;
Why should we vex and grieve his love
Who seals our souls to heavenly life?

[For the Messenger of Peace.]

A Dialogue on "A Military Spirit" Between John Hall and George Bell.

BY JOHN HEMMENWAY.

George Bell. I wish to have a long talk with you this evening, Mr. Hall. I want to give you my opinion on a military spirit, which I believe to be a very patriotic and a very glorious spirit.

John Hall. I am glad to see you, neighbor Bell. I am always happy to converse with a man who is honest in his opinions, even if his opinions are erroneous.

G. B. I am greatly surprised to know that you are opposed to the cultivation of a military spirit among our countrymen.

J. H. I certainly am opposed to it; for it s really an unpatriotic spirit.

G. B. Why, Mr. Hall, you must be out of your right mind to have such a thought in

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Messenger of Peace.

Motto: "Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good Will to Men."

VOL. XVI . SIXTH MONTH, 1886. NO. 6

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE
The Warrior 81
The Peacemakers 82
The Three Bidders 85
A Significant Message 85
Importance of Considering War Question 87
Editorial 88
Consequences of the Civil War 91
W. C. T, U. 91
The Bible an the Rifle 92
Thomas H. Benton 92
Christ's Presence in the House 93
Unconnected Thoughts 94
Going to Heaven Alone 95
The Golden Rule 95
Advertisements........ 96
List of Peace Publications 96

Thomas Chase

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4½ every minute.

Shall the sword devour forever? Not if God's Word is true. Christians, come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

Chili is harvesting the largest wheat crop ever known in that country.

THE WARRIOR.

I.

A GALLANT form is passing by,
  The plume bends o'er his lordly brow;
A thousand tongues have raised on high
  His song of triumph now.
Young knees are bending 'round his way,
  And age makes bare his locks of gray.

II.

Fair forms have lent their gladdest smile,
  White hands have waved the conqueror on,
And flowers have decked his path the while,
  By gentle fingers strewn.
Soft tones have cheered him, and the brow
  Of beauty beams, uncovered, now.

III.

The bard hath waked the song for him,
  And pour'd his boldest numbers forth;
The wine cup, sparkling to the brim,
  Adds frenzy to the mirth;
And every tongue, and every eye,
  Does homage to the passer-by.

IV.

The gallant steed treads proudly on;
  His foot falls firmly now, as when
In strife that iron heel went down
  Upon the hearts of men;
And foremost in the ranks of strife
  Trod out the last dim spark of life.

V.

Dream they of this—the glad and gay
  That bend around the conqueror's path—
The horrors of the conflict day,
  The gloomy field of death,
The ghastly bain, the severed head,
  The raven stooping o'er the dead?

VI.

Dark thoughts, and fearful! yet they bring

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Herald of Peace.

oL. IV. No. 1. CHICAGO, ILL., EIGHTH MONTH, 1, 1869. WHOLE No. 37.

☞ Persons who answer any advertisements y see in this paper, are especially requested to in their letters that they saw the advertisent in the HERALD OF PEACE, and oblige,

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. M. Mayo. J. B. Mayo.

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By William H. Clarke.

s Valuable Work is not published in order to advertise et Organs, but to give the greatest aid to those who deo become accomplished players upon these pleasing inents.

careful and order "Clarke's New Method" published son & Co., as a much smaller work by the same Au published several years since, has just been re-issued by er house under the pretence of being new! Price in ls, $2.50. Sent post-paid on receipt of price. OLIVER ON & CO., Boston. C. H. DITSON & CO., New York.

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Written for the Herald of Peace

DOES WAR PAY?

NO. 2.

Men of thought, reflection, and business hab- ts, generally ask, when a subject is presented o them, for their investigation, "Will it pay?" When a war," says an experienced writer, is de- lared, it is done with the probability, that sixty housand lives will be sacrificed, and a much reater number of families, subjected to severe af- liction; and with the possibility, that ten times his amount of suffering, will be the result. If his is the case, what worldly interest should we llow to call us into war?

It must be remembered, too, that while these ixty thousand lives are being sacrificed, more than en times that many millions of money will be pent. How long then should we forbear?

The worth of these lives can never be told. Only ne of them weighed in the scale against the world, s infinitely more than sufficient to turn the balance in its favor.

Would those who make war, give their own lives, if by this sacrifice they knew they could secure to the country, all that they thus hope to gain?

No. They do not expect to die themselves; they expect others to make the sacrifices, and they enjoy the benefits. I have heard some where a fable of the ox and frogs. The ox got in among the frogs, and was having a fine dance among them. The poor frogs said to the ox, it may be fun for you, but it is death to us. The spoils of war may be glorious to rulers and leaders, but the price of all this, is the death of thousands of poor subjects;

"War is a game, that were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at."

But while the value of these sixty thousand lives, to their families, and to the country in many relations, can never be told, there is a value to the country which we may estimate.

They are taken from productive industry, and it is productive industry, that makes the wealth of a nation.

These men are young and middle aged. By the estimations of Life Insurance Companies, a thousand men that are 35 years of age, will average 30 years longer. Counting then, the labor of a man at a dollar per day, we have sixty thousand dollars per day, for thirty years, a sum total of $563,400,000 for this one item of cost.

Double this sum as the cost of fighting, and double it again as the cost of preparing to fight, and we have $2,371,000,000 which is a low estimate of the average cost of war. Verily, does it pay? Chas. Sumner, in his oration on the True Grandeur of a Nation, makes the following comparison between

HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND A WAR SHIP.

It appears from the last report of the treasurer, that the whole available property of the University, the various accumulations of more than two centuries of generosity, amounts to, $703,175.

There now swings idly at her moorings, in this harbor, a ship of the line, the Ohio, carrying ninety guns, finished as late as 1835, for $547,888 repaired only two years afterwards, in 1838, for 223.012 dollars, with an armament which has cost $53,845, making an amount of $834,845 as the actual cost at this moment of that single ship, more than $100,000 beyond all the available accumulations of the richest, and nobles seat of learning in the land! Choose ye, my fellow citizens of a Christain State, between the two caskets—that wherein is the loveliness of knowledge and truth, or that which contains the carrion of death. Let us pursue the comparison still further. The account of the expeditures of the University during the last year, for the general purposes of the college, the instruction of the under graduates, and for the schools of laws and of divinity, amounts to $45,949. The cost of the Ohio for one year in service, in salaries, wages, and provisions, is $220,000; being $175,000 more than the annual expenditures of the University; more than four times as much. In other words, for the annual sum which is lavished on one ship of the line, four institutions, like Harvard University, might be sustained throughout the country. Still further let us pursue the comparison. The pay of a captain of a ship like the Ohio, is $4.500 when in service; $3,500 when on leave of absence or off duty. The salary of the President of Harvard University is $2,205 without leave of absence, and never being off duty!

If the large endowments of Harvard University are dwarfed by a comparison with the expense of a single ship of the line, how much more must it be so with those of other institutions of learning and beneficence, less favored by the bounty of many generations? The average cost of a sloop of war is $315.000 more, probably, than all the endowments of those twin stars of learning in the western part of Massachusetts, the colleges at Williamstown and Amherst, and of that single star in the east, the guide to many ingenious youth, the Seminary at Andover. The yearly cost of a sloop of war in service is about 50,000 dollars; more than the annual expenditurers of these three institutions combined.

W. G. H.

LITTLE WAYS OF DOING GOOD.

Eds. Herald of Peace:—

A few weeks ago, in preparing for a short trip to the West, among other things, I put into my traveling satchel about three dozen tracts; selecting, not those containing doctrinal matter, or theological discussions, but rather those simple naratives, which any one who can read at all, can understand. Those little messages of love which Christian people have sent out into the world to cheer the wanderer, and lead him home to Christ.

After leaving St. Louis for Keokuk, on board the "Rob Roy," I went below to see what kind of fellows the boat hands were. They numbered twenty-four, and were nearly all colored. Here was found a use for those little tracts which I had stowed away, without knowing how or when they would be wanted. Inquiry disclosed, that about two thirds of all the hands could read, and some of them, very well. But they had nothing to read, and so spent their time lounging about the boat, sleeping and playing cards.

Having supplied myself with tracts, and taking a friend along, we went below, and presented each hand with a tract. It was a satisfaction to see those sable men who could not read, carefully put away the little books, saying they would get their wives, or some member of the family to read it to them, while those who were able, immediately commenced reading their presents.

In the stern of the boat we found several hands playing cards; but the cards soon disappeared when they saw us with tracts in our hands. Eagerly did those who could read, do it, while those who could not read, were collected at their request, in the stern of the boat, and amid the squeaking of the rudder, and the plash of side-wheels, we read them the tract entitled "Uncle Joe, or The Power of Prayer," and notwithstanding the inconvenience of the place, they nearly all gave their undivided attention.

There are many poor people, and many who are not poor in this world's goods, who are thankful for the little encouragement given, even in a simple tract, though bestowed by a stranger's hand, and yet how seldom is this done. How many hearts which now go mourning on their ways, might be made to rejoice even it may be, in a Saviour's love, if Christians would only let their lights shine under all circumstances. Let us not "grow weary in well doing," but "be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

W. B. W.

1.Peter Brock, *Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971); Merle Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1929); Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (New York: Norton & Co., 1936); Charles DeBenedetti, assisted by Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (Syracuse University Press, 1990); Charles DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); David C. Lawson, "Swords Into Plowshares, Spears Into Pruninghooks: The Intellectual Foundations of the First American Peace Movement, 1815-1865," Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1975; C. Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Christina Phelps, *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930); Lawrence S. Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969; rev. ed., Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984); Valarie H. Ziegler, *The Advocates of Peace in Antebellum America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992). Additional sources are listed in Charles F. Howlett, *The American Peace Movement: References and Resources* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1991).

2. The only works by historians of the peace movement that focus on the peace press are the introductions to the microfiche reproductions of selected nineteenth-century peace periodicals (published by Clearwater Publishing Co., as part of the Library of World Peace Studies), by these authors: Warren F. Kuehl and David C. Lawson, *Advocate of Peace* (1979); David C. Lawson, *American Advocate of Peace* (1978); David C. Lawson, *Calumet* (1978); David C. Lawson, *Friend of Peace* (1978); David C. Lawson, *Harbinger of Peace* (1978); David S. Patterson, *Peacemaker and Court of Arbitration* (1979).

3. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1941); Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776* (New York: Knopf, 1958); Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Donald H. Stewart, *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969); Donald E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970).

4. David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America," *Journalism Monographs*, no. 88 (May 1984).

5. E.g., Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric*, 2 vols. (New York: Praeger, 1989); Janet Zollinger Giele, "Social Change in the Feminine Role: A Comparison of Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Temperance 1870-1920," Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, 1961; Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977); Lynne Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-1870," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 53 (Summer 1976), 242-251; Lynne Masel-Walters, "To Hustle with the Rowdies: The Organization and Functions of the American Suffrage Press," *Journal of American Culture*, vol. 3 (Spring 1980), 167-183; Ann Mather, "A History of Feminist Periodicals," *Journalism History*, vol. 1 (Autumn 1974), 82-85; Lana F. Rakow and Cheris Kramarae, eds., *The Revolution in Words: Righting Women 1868-1871* (New York: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, 1991); Ann Russo and Cheris Kramarae, eds., *The Radical Women's Press of the 1850s* (New York: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, 1991); Martha M. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991); Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth-Century Suffrage Periodicals,"*American Journalism*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Summer 1983), 1-15.

6. E.g., Hugh H. Davis, "The Reform Career of Joshua Levitt, 1794-1873," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1969; Merton L. Dillon, *Elijah P. Lovejoy, Abolitionist Editor* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1961); Asa Earl Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 2, no. 4 (March 1916), 509-528; Russel B. Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860* (Michigan State University Press, 1963), chapter 7; W. Sherman Savage, *The Controversy over the Distribution of Abolition Literature 1830-1860* (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1938); John L. Thomas, *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison, a Biography* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963); Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.*, 2nd ed. (Ames, Ia.: Iowa State University Press, 1990), chapter 2.

7. E.g., Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), chapter 5 ("To Dare Tell the Good News: The Mechanics of Proselytizing: Organizers and Publications"); Janet Zollinger Giele, "Social Change in the Feminine Role: A Comparison of Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Temperance 1870-1920," Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, 1961.

8. Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 101.

9. See: Nancy L. Roberts, *American Peace Writers, Editors, and Periodicals: A Dictionary* (Greenwood Press, 1991). Also, Lauren Kessler's *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History* (Beverly Hills, Calif.,: Sage, 1984) includes a brief chapter limited to twentieth-century developments.

10. See: Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*, 3-41; W. Freeman Galpin, *Pioneering for Peace: A Study of American Peace Efforts to 1846* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Bardeen Press, 1933), 1-34; Ziegler, *The Advocates of Peace in Antebellum America*.

11. Charles Chatfield, ed., *Peace Movements in America* (New York: Shocken Books, 1973); Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*, 18-19.

12. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 16-17.

13. DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 32, 34; Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 479.

14. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 459; Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*, 8. It was absolutely pacifist, opposing all warfare, and aiming "not to form a popular society, but to depend, under God, upon individual personal effort, by conversation and circulating essays" to win a hearing for peace ideas through the churches.[*Memorial of Mr. David L. Dodge, Consisting of an Autobiography Prepared at the Request for the Use of His Children, with a Few Selections from His Writings* (Boston: S.K. Whipple & Co., 1854), 90, as quoted by DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 33.] Immediately the group began to print peace tracts for distribution in boxes of Dodge's merchandise.

15. The MPS's founder Noah Worcester (1758-1837), a Unitarian minister, served as the corresponding secretary, and he edited the society's first periodical, the *Friend of Peace*. Realizing that successful organization was more important than building a small, ideologically pure band of absolute pacifists, the ecumenical MPS welcomed a much broader peace constituency than did the NYPS. It grew fairly quickly, eventually emerging as the more vital and important of the two organizations. At the end of the Society's first year, it reported 185 members (of whom 58 were ministers), and claimed to have distributed 4,820 tracts. Also, 925 numbers of the *Friend of Peace* were distributed (including those sent to members of the Massachusetts Peace Society). [*Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (1817), 39; *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (Jan. 1820), 9; "First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (1817), 31.]

At the end of 1817, the Society reported the distribution of 5,370 tracts and a total of 304 members. In 1818, the Society's third year, it claimed "Upwards of 500" members (Brock claims 1000), with six branch societies. ["Fourth Annual Report of the

Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1820), 9, 10; Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 473.] It distributed 8,298 tracts, of which 4,785 were copies of the *Friend of Peace*. In 1819, this figure jumped to 16,149 tracts, of which 7,360 were copies of the *Friend of Peace*. [*Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (Jan. 1820), 9-10; "Third Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society, Made at the Annual Meeting in Boston, December 25, 1918," Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pa.] Total membership for that year was put at 882 (including 335 members in the twelve branch societies). ["Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 [1820], 9, 10.] In 1819, the *Friend of Peace* reported that its first three numbers had passed through seven editions in the United States, with the seventh edition of number four currently in press. Also, several other numbers had gone through "5 or 6 editions." [*Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1819), 40.]

16. In addition, 2,860 were sold during that year. Five hundred copies of the *Friend of Peace* were sent to "foreign states and countries," including Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, India, and Ceylon." ["Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (1821), 12.]

17. By 1819, seventeen regional peace societies from Maine to Georgia and from Rhode Island to Indiana, had sprung up. [DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 33.]

18. See Edson L. Whitney, *The American Peace Society: A Centennial History* (Washington, D.C.: The American Peace Society, 1928); Ziegler, *The Advocates of Peace in Antebellum America*.

19. C. Wendell King, *Social Movements in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1956), 27.

20.Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J.P. Mayer and Max Lerner (New York: Harper and Row, 1835/1966), as quoted in Richard B. Kielbowicz and Clifford Scherer, "The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of Social Movements," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, vol. 9 (1986), 71.

21. "Address to the Friends of Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 11.

22. Love wrote a series of articles for the *Voice of Peace* which detailed the genesis of that organization. See, for example: "History of the Organization of the Universal Peace Union," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 1-3 and the conclusion, vol. 2, no. 2 (Feb. 1873), 1-3.

23. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 478-479, 375-388.

24. DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 59-78. In 1884, the Universal Peace Union optimistically claimed that "this nineteenth century will, in all human probability, witness the adoption of arbitration in place of war on the whole American Continent, if not the whole world. To accomplish this object is the work to which the *Peacemaker* is devoted" (*Peacemaker*, vol., 3 no. 1 (July/Aug. 1884), [cover page]). And as early as 1868, its predecessor, the *Bond of Peace*, had advocated arbitration. ["To the Readers of the Philadelphia Tribune," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Feb. 1868), 4.]

25. Phelps, *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, 68.

26. Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America."

27. Curti, *The American Peace Crusade*, 232.

28. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 389.

29. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 366, 367, 375-376, 377. For instance, even as late as 1868, the Quaker *Herald of Peace* commented, "The American Peace Society does not take the stand, which we think accords with the true idea of Peace, viz: personal obedience to Christ, but seeks to do away with war among nations, which can never be accomplished while Christians allow the lawfulness of war, under any circumstances, etc. But it is aiming at a good point, and we trust that guided by honesty, it will eventually comprehend the Peace questions in its clearness and fulness [sic]." [*Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1 Sept. 1868), 42.]

30. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 405.

31. The information about these periodicals presented in this section is based upon my own examination of the files at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pa., supplemented by these secondary sources: Curti, *The American Peace Crusade*, 232-233; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*: vol. I, 1741-1850 (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), vol. II, 1850-1865 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), vol. III, 1865-1885 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), vol. IV, 1885-1905 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), vol. 5, *Sketches of 21 Magazines, 1905-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); and the *National Union Catalogue* (Pres-1956 Imprints). Also consult Roberts, *American Peace Writers, Editors, and Periodicals: A Dictionary*, 295-328, for detailed publishing data on each periodical.

32. There the *American Advocate of Peace*, as it was known, was edited by the Rev. Caleb Sprague Henry (1834-1835) and by Francis Fellowes (1835-1836). The *American Advocate of Peace* (averaging about 48 pages) absorbed the *Calumet* in June, 1835. The *American Advocate of Peace* published its last number in November, 1836 and was succeeded by a new series, the *Advocate of Peace*. The latter was variously a monthly, a bimonthly, and a quarterly, whose editors included the Rev. George Beckwith and Elihu Burritt. (During Burritt's 1846 editorship, the periodical was renamed the *Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*). The *Advocate of Peace* moved to Washington, D.C., in 1910, and later changed its title to *World Affairs*.

33. Editors included Thomas W. Stuckey and Alfred H. Love.

34. Quakers had always opposed war, but in 1867 the Peace Association of Friends was formed by seven of the American Yearly Meetings, "for the purpose of bringing this important subject more promptly to the notice of Christian purposes, and to the world at large, than had hitherto been done, and to labor for the spread of this very important feature of the Gospel." [*Messenger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1 Feb. 1872), 65.]

35. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 93.

36. According to Frank Luther Mott, magazine subscription prices were rather variable in the 1741-1850 period, with reviews (such as the *Knickerbocker*, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and the *Democratic*) each charging five dollars per year. During this period, "Three dollars a year came the nearest to being a standard rate; that was the subscription price of the leading women's magazines, of the *New World* and *Brother Jonathan*, of *Graham's* and many others. The number of dollar magazines is surprisingly large, however." [Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 1, *Ibid*., 513-514.]

37. *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 10 (Feb. 1829), 220 and vol. 2, no. 5 (Sept. 1829), back cover. "Whenever the society can afford to pay an editor, a more able one will be procured; but it will be difficult to find an editor who will do the work for nothing, and take all the trouble and risk on himself besides, as we have done." [*Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (April 1829), 287; Lawson, "Introduction," microfiche reproduction of *Calumet*, 2.]

38. See, for example, *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 8 (1817), 40; *Calumet*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Nov./Dec. 1834), 97; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1837), 96; *Herald of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (15 August 1869), 5; *Bond of Peace*, new series, vol. 1, no. 12 (Dec. 1871), 182.

39. For example, *Calumet*, vol. 2, no. 1 (May/June 1834), 31-32; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 18 (Aug. 1839), 48; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 19 (Oct. 1839), 72; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 22 (Apr. 1840), 144; *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (May 1868), 2; *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 6 (June 1869), 44; *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 64; *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 10 (Jan. 1879), 156; *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 5 (Aug. 1881), 76; *Peacemaker*, vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1885), 16.

40. J.G.C. Kennedy, *Catalogue of the Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the United States. Compiled from the Census of 1850* (New York: J. Livingston, 1852), 19. One of the few additional sources for this period is Daniel J. Kenny, *The American Newspaper Directory and Record of the Press* (New York: Watson and Co., 1861).

41. "Third Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May/June 1831), 8; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 23 (June 1840), 153.

42. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 10 (Oct. 1879), 149.

43. See, for example, Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 1, *Ibid.*, 514; vol. 2, *Ibid.*, 10; vol. 3, *Ibid.*, 6,7; vol. 4, *Ibid.*, 16, 17.

44. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 4, 15, 29-29.

45. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 4.

46. Thus, for instance, the *Advocate of Peace* aimed to reach "every *class* of readers." [*Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (June 1838), 10.] And the *Friend of Peace* sometimes found it difficult to address simultaneously its dual audience of readers in the United Sates and abroad; for instance, it had considered listing duels under a regular column called "Disgraceful Occurrences." But this was deemed not a good idea, because, "recollecting that the circulation of this work is not confined to the United States, we are unwilling to be the instruments of extending to other countries a detail of such barbarous occurrences in our own." ["Disgraceful Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 39.]

47. "First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (1816), 30, 31.

48. "While correcting the last proof, we received the pleasing intelligence from Maine, that at Minot, July 9th, a READING PEACE SOCIETY was organized, consisting of seventy-nine members." ["Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1824), 32.] See also (for example): "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1819), 39-40.

49. "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, Appendix, no. 3 (July 1828), 96; "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 35.

50. "Intelligence from Peace Societies," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 9 (Aug. 1816), 40; "Peace Societies in Great Britain," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 31-32; "Raleigh Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 32-33; "Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 34; "Interesting Facts," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (1 May 1818), 38-39.

51. "Auspicious Movements," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Dec. 1837).

52. For example, "New Peace Societies," *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 283; "Intelligence: Peace Societies--Resolutions, &c.," *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (Dec. 1835), 340-342; "Intelligence: Peace Societies--Resolutions, &c.," *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (June 1835), 248-252; "Intelligence," *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1834), 55-56; "Report of Kindred Movements," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 66; "Indications of Progress in the West," *Bond of Peace*, new ser., vol. 1, no. 3 (March 1871), 35; "Pleasant Reciprocity," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (Nov. 1869), 90; "Iowa Peace Society," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Nov. 1873), 26; "An Earnest Peace Movement in England," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 9 (Dec. 1878), 129-131; "Important International Peace Movement" (trans. by Thomas J. Durant), *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 11 (Feb. 1879), 161-163; "The Peace Movement," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 5 (Aug. 1879), 70-73; "Woman's Peace Movement in England," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 96.

53. For example, "Influence of Peace Reading--of the Advocate," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Feb. 1843), 20.

54. "Correspondence," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Jan. 1879), 1. Another, printed in the *Friend of Peace*, claimed that circulation of that periodical had "produced a very beneficial effect," helping "the cause of Peace [to gain] ground." ["Intelligence from Peace Societies," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 9 (Aug. 1816), 40.]

55. *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 11 (1 Feb. 1816), 40.

56. However, the *Herald* did conclude the column of letters with this comment from a reader: "I like the free, fearless and independent spirit of the editors, who speak out so plainly." ["What They Think of Us," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 2 (15 Aug. 1868), 21.]

57. "Exposition of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 13 (Feb. 1839), 199.

58. *Harbinger of Pace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 286.

59. "Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 7 (May/June 1832), 198.

60. "First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (1817), 32.

61. *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (Dec. 1836), back cover; "Explanatory & Salutatory," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 6. Note: similarly, the first Pennsylvania Peace Society's *Advocate of Peace* pledged that "being devoted to the cause of peace and brotherly love,... [it would] never exhibit its columns disgraced by unprofitable altercation;...Well digested arguments; deductions from certain data; abstracts of Missionary news; reflections on existing abuses relative to our subject; reports of other similar societies; extracts of a useful and entertaining nature; and whatever may tend to promote 'peace on earth,' will be considered matter germain [sic] to our purpose." [*Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Peace society, 1823), 7.]

62. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 3 (March 1879), 1, 34-35; J.J. Copp, *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 10-12; William M. Holland, *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (Dec. 1836), 107-114.

63. E.g., "Hymn to Peace," *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Sept. 1829), 120; "What the Winds Bring," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 7 (1 May 1869), 87; Bernard Barton, "Power and Gentleness," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1, new ser. (Jan. 1871), 11; "The Star of Peace," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 1; "Horrors of War," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Feb. 1880), 1; Milton Belden, "The Brotherhood of Man," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 7.

64. E.g., "Harry's Mittens," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 7; "Joe Benton's Coal Yard," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 3 (March 1879), 37-38.

65. Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-70," 249; Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 50-51; Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 91-93; Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860*, 122.

66. E.g., "Our Little Folks' Corner, " *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1, new ser. (Jan. 1871), 11 and vol. 1, no. 4, new ser. (Apr. 1871), 57; "Children's Department," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (1 Apr. 1869), 58-59 and vol. 3, no. 7 (1 May 1869), 86-87; "Children's Department," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 4 (July 1879), 61-64; "For Young Readers," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 14-16.

In some cases, a separate publication evolved for children, such as the American Peace Society's *Angel of Peace* and the Universal Peace Union's *Leaflets of Peace for children* (which, while a separate monthly publication, was apparently appended to monthly issues of the *Voice of Peace*).

Sometimes the children's publication replaced the special children's section within the adult periodical. Thus, the *Herald of Peace* dropped its children's section with the publication by the Herald Company, starting in January 1869, of the *Guiding Star*. ["Announcement," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1 Oct. 1868), 74.]

67. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 92-93.

68. "Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 7 (May/June 1832), 198.

69.American Anti-Slavery Society, *First Annual Report*, 1834, 41, as quoted in Savage, *The Controversy over the Distribution of Abolition Literature 1830-1860*, 9.

70. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1 Feb. 1872), 72.

71. "Peace Societies in Great Britain," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 32.

72. "The Tongue, the Pen and the Press," *Friend of Peace, Appendix*, no. 3 (July 1828), 90-94.

73. Charles Stewart, Craig Smith, and Robert E. Denton, Jr., *Persuasion and Social Movements* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1984), 38.

74. *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1815), 38.

75. "Twelfth Annual Report," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 23 (June 1840), 153.

76. "Address to the Friends of Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 11; "Exposition of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 13 (Feb. 1839), 201-202.

77. "Explanatory & Salutatory," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 6.

78. "Public Opinion Against War," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1837), 7.

79. "Tenth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (June 1838), 9.

80. "Address to the Friends of Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 11.

81. "Proceedings of the Convention of the Friends of Peace, of the State of Pennsylvania, Held at Philadelphia, on Thursday, April 4th, 1850" (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1850), 6.

82. "Report of the Connecticut Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 14 (May/June 1833), 418.

83. For instance, "Report of the Rev. George C. Beckwith's Agency in Behalf of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 31; "The Ninth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 19-20; *Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1846), 11; "Close of Volume VIII," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, supplement to no. 12 (Apr. 1882), 197.

84.Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 47-48.

85. *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Mar. 1869), 20.

86. *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 285.

87. Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-70," 249; Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 14-15, 50-51.

88. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 92-93.

89. "A Peace Paper," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (1 Apr. 1869), 54.

90. Kielbowicz and Scherer, "The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of Social Movements," 71-72.

91. "Items of Home Intelligence: The Press on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 5 (May 1845), 57. See also: "Newspapers on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 6 (June 1843), 67; "Intelligence: Peace Societies--Resolutions--Publications, &c.," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1834), 102-103.

92. "Ninth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 20, 24-25; See also: p.32, and "Tenth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," vol. 2, no. 5 (June 1838), 13; "Periodicals on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 19 (Oct. 1839), 70; "The Newspaper Press on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 13 (Jan. 1844), 154-156.

93. *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 286.

94. *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Sept./Oct. 1831), 69. See also: "Third Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May/June 1831), 8; *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 7 (May/June 1832), 198, 202.

95. For example, "Notice of Peace Publications," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1815), 39-40; "Peace Societies in Great Britain," *Friend of Peace*, vol., 2, no. 5 (9 Aug. 1819), 31.

96. For instance, the *Herald of Peace* printed a "Letter to the Conductors of the Public Press," pleading that "the Fourth Estate" adopt the cause of peace. [*Herald of Peace*, Jan. 1846, 10-12.]

97. "Answers to Contemporaries," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 6 (June 1869), 40. Similarly, as part of the record of its second anniversary proceedings, the Universal Peace Union had noted Horace Greeley's response to Alfred H. Love's invitation to attend the proceedings. "Dear Sir: I believe in Peace," Greeley had written, "and mean to do my best to secure it. My impression is, however, that disarming the good, and turning them over to the tender mercies of the bad, is not the way to secure it. I apprehend that some of the chronic enemies of Peace will have to be disarmed, possibly killed, before we can have universal and lasting Peace." [*Proceedings of the Second Anniversary of the Universal Peace Society* (at Dodeworth's Hall, New York Friday, May 16, 1868), Universal Peace Society, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, 14.] Note: When Greeley died, the editor of the UPU's *Voice of Peace* reprinted a generous eulogy from the *New York Tribune* and added, "May his many good works be remembered and cherished long after the faults and mistakes of his noble life are forgotten." [Horace Greeley, " *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 5.]

98. Stewart, Smith, and Denton, *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 45.

99. "A Plain Statement," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 11.

100. "To the U. Peace Union," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 5.

101. E.g., "On the Infliction of Death as a Punishment," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Mar. 1835), 17; "Nature and Object of Punishment," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1 Aug. 1868), 1; "The Prison a Sphere for Womans' [sic] Labor," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1 Aug. 1868), 1.2; "The Death Penalty," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1868), 3-4; "Capital Punishment," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1869), 4; Charles Williams, "Capital Punishment," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1, new ser. (Jan. 1871), 1.2; J.P. Haines, "Capital Punishment," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 6 (1 Mar. 1872), 73 [cover page], 74; "Universal Peace Union and Capital Punishment," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 11; "Gallows Fruits," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 11. Note: the *Advocate of Peace* devoted space to discussing why the American Peace Society did not wish to debate the capital punishment issue. ["Ninth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 27.]

102. E.g., "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1819), 39; "Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (Jan. 1820), 44; "Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1824), 45-47; "The Indians," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1868), 4,6-7; "Our Memorial in Behalf of the Indians" and "The Late Indian Massacre," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1869), 4; "Universal Peace Union," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1869), 21; "Our Indian Interest," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 64; "Letter to the Ojibway Indians," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 3-4; "Indian Affairs," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (Oct. 1872), 12; "The Modoc Indians," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 9; "The Condemned Modocs," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 10 (Oct. 1873), 2; "Christian and Savage Warfare," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Nov. 1873), 1; "Indian Department--Indians and Negroes," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 84-85; "Of Indians Who Were Once Our Guests in Philadelphia," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 85; "Civilization Amongst the Indians," *Voice of Peace* vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 86-88; "Official Report of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Peace Society," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 10 (Jan. 1879), 149, 152-153; "Indian Department," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Apr. 1881), 4-6; "Greeting of Indian Children and Baltimore Children to the Peace Girls and Boys," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 4 (July 1881), part of the children's section (*Leaflets of Peace for Children*), 62-64; "Indian Subject," *Peacemaker*, vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1885), 10.

103. "To the Readers of the Philadelphia Tribune," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Feb. 1868), 4. See also: "Woman," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1869), 5; "The Woman Movement," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1869), 20; "Does the Peace Movement Comprehend Woman Suffrage," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (July 1869), 51; "Sojourner Truth," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1870), 4; "The Iowa Idea of Woman's Rights," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no.

3 (March 1879), 44; "Woman Suffrage to Secure Peace," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 7, no. 8 (Nov. 1880), 128; "Official Report of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Universal Peace Union, Held in New York City, May 27th, 28th and 29th, 1881," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 4 (July 1881), 55-56; "A Girl's work at Home," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Feb. 1882), 30-31. Note: in keeping with its editorial philosophy, the *Bond of Peace* published an advertisement for the *Women's Advocate*, a reform magazine. [Vol., 2, no. 6 (June 1869), p. 4 of the advertising supplement following p. 44.]

104. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 7 (July 1879), 104. See also: "Temperance," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (Apr. 1869), 60; H.J. Smith, "Intemperance," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 7 (1 May 1869), 75; "Intemperance versus Peace," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 12-13; "Anti-Treating Pledge," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 3 (March 1879), 43; "Temperance Tidbits," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 8 (Aug. 1879), 125; "A Cruel King," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 11 (Nov. 1879), 168.

105. "The Smoker," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (July 1869), 54. See also (for example): "A Smoking Clergyman," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 64; "Mental Effects of Tobacco," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 15, no. 9 (Sept. 1885), 138-139; "A Little Boy's Resolve," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 15, no. 9 (Sept. 1885), 139.

106. E.g., "Animals Versus Men," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1869), 20, 24; J. Murray Spear, "Treatment of Dumb Animals," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 13 (Jan. 1874), 1, 2; "No Peace where there is Cruelty to Animals," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (Aug. 1874), 76; "Kindness to Animals," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 10 (Oct. 1879), 151.

107. "Cruelty to Animals," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 2 (15 Aug. 1868), 19.

108. "An Estimate of Human Sacrifices in the Russian Campaign," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1815), 25; "War and Slavery--Their Abolition," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (1 Apr. 1869), 50. Note: along with women's rights, abolition was the most common companion movement in which antebellum peace advocates were involved. The small number of articles opposing slavery in this sample undoubtedly is a function in part of the time period of the publications sampled.

109. E.g., "Carrying Concealed Deadly Weapons," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 5; "Boys and Pistols," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Feb. 1879), 22; "Official report of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Universal Peace Union, Held in New York City, May 27th, 28th and 29th, 1881," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 4 (July 1881), 56; "Lynch Law," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 2 (15 Aug. 1868), 1.

110. E.g., "Prison Discipline," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (15 July 1868), 1; "Term Sentences," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1 Sept. 1868), 1; "Efforts Against the Whipping Post," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Apr. 1881), 3-4.

111. "American Peace Society. Proceedings of the Fifth Anniversary.," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 13 (May/June 1833), 387; "Boys and Pistols," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Feb. 1879), 22.

112. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 91-92.

113. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 37, 57.

114. Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-70," 249.

115. Phelps, *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, 62.

116. "Imperial Policy," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (1 May 1818), 39. See also (for example): "Horrors of War at Leipzig,

117. "War Scenes and Expenses," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 5 (Aug. 1879), 67.

118. "Sketches of War," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1837), 80, 81.

119. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, vol. 18 (Summer 1966), 151-174.

120. "War and the Social Affections: The Maniac Mother," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 9 (Oct. 1838), 111.

121. "British Atrocities in South Africa," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 8 (Aug. 1879), 115; "A Doomed Army," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 8 (Aug. 1879), 124.

122. "Corporal Punishment," *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 280. See also: "Treatment of Soldiers," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 19 (Oct. 1839), 68-69.

123. John H. Douglass, "Consideration of the Question of Peace," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (15 July 1868), 1.

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"A RECEIPT AGAINST THE PLAGUE": HOW COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS PRESENTED DISEASES AND THEIR REMEDIES FOR THEIR READERS

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Presented to the American Journalism Historians Association
in Consideration for Presentation at its 1993 Convention

"A Receipt against the PLAGUE": How Colonial Newspapers Presented Diseases and their Remedies for their Readers

In the winter of 1760, a smallpox epidemic raged through the South Carolina colony. Each week, the *South-Carolina Gazette* reported new outbreaks of the oft-fatal disease. But in the February 23, 1760 edition, printer Peter Timothy offered his readership more than a table of smallpox deaths for the colony; he presented them with "A Receipt against the PLAGUE," a concoction of "rub, sage, mint, rosemary, wormwood, and lavender," combined in "white-wine vinegar." The resulting elixir was guaranteed by four convicts going to the gallows to protect the user from smallpox.[1]

The *South-Carolina Gazette*'s cure for smallpox is but one example of the many medical remedies presented in colonial newspapers. In an age where bleeding and drawing blisters behind the ears were common prescriptions for maladies, the newspapers offered various cures for their readers to use to heal an assortment of diseases. In addition, the local newspapers kept their readers informed of outbreaks of diseases and described the latest medical breakthroughs made in Europe, England and America.

This paper looks at colonial newspapers' treatment of medical news from the issuance of *Publick Occurrences* in 1690 to the end of the colonial period.[2] Through medical news, news of outbreaks of disease and news of assorted scientific discoveries, the colonial newspapers entered the battle to eliminate certain maladies and physical shortcomings that tormented the eighteenth-century citizen. The newspapers of British colonial America, therefore, very much reflect the society in which they functioned, and nowhere is this fact better demonstrated than in the medical news that appeared in the weekly newspapers from Charleston to Boston.

Medical news found a place in American newspapers from their inception. Benjamin Harris in *Publick Occurrences* related that "Epidemical Fevers and Agues grow common" in Boston.[3] Sidney Kobre, whose work *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* is the only comprehensive study of the colonial press, rightly reported that news of disease appeared in *Publick Occurrences* and the *Boston News-Letter* because it was of local importance.[4] But Kobre says little else of medical news in the colonial newspapers.[5] A 1980 discussion of the Boston inoculation controversy provides the only literature that focuses upon disease and the colonial media,[6] with the exception of brief discussions of the issue by Frank Luther Mott, Edwin and Michael Emery and Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter.[7] The nucleus of these discussions is not on medical news, but on the pro- and anti-inoculation forces that waged a war of words in the *New-England Courant* and *Boston News-Letter* in 1721. John Duffy, in his 1953 *Epidemics in Colonial America*, consulted colonial newspapers to demonstrate the effect of diseases on colonial development. Duffy's purpose, however, was to ascertain which diseases were present in the colonial period and then to discuss them in order of importance.[8]

In order to determine the nature of medical news in the colonial newspapers, twelve newspapers spanning the period 1690-1775 were read. Those newspapers are *Publick Occurrences*, the *South-Carolina Gazette*, the *Virginia Gazette*, the *Maryland Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the *American Weekly Mercury*, the *New York Weekly*

Journal, the *Newport Mercury*, the *Essex Gazette*, the *Boston News-Letter*, the *New-England Weekly Journal* and the *Boston Evening-Post*.[9] No newspaper bridges the entire period, but by using a significant number of newspapers from all areas of the colonies, an accurate portrayal should be possible. The nearly 15,000 editions of these dozen newspapers were read in five-year increments beginning in 1720. Before 1720, when only the one issue of *Publick Occurrences* and the *Boston News-Letter* existed, all issues were read.[10] Before looking at the medical news reported by the colonial newspapers, a brief overview of the major diseases of the period and how medicine and disease appeared in print outside of the colonial newspapers should help to understand their treatment in the colonial newspapers.

The Diseases of Colonial America

Three main diseases preyed upon the inhabitants of colonial America. They were smallpox, typhus and measles,[11] but these diseases and others like diphtheria, dysentery and malaria were not new to the English settlers that crossed the Atlantic Ocean to settle in America. They existed in England as well and were brought by the colonists when they emigrated.[12] Smallpox was the most lethal pathogen in Europe, and it continued in that role in America wiping out entire tribes of Native Americans even faster than it claimed the lives of white settlers.[13] The Indians provided the European disease with "virgin soil" in which to grow.[14]

If Native Americans provided "virgin soil" for smallpox and the other European diseases, the first English settlers in America--even though many had been exposed to the diseases in England--became nearly as fertile a field for illnesses. It is estimated that 90 percent of Native Americans succumbed to European diseases, while 80 percent of the English settlers in Virginia died from the same ailments during the colony's first eighteen years.[15] A century later, the death rate among colonists had lowered considerably, but still 6,000 citizens of Boston contracted smallpox in 1721, 899 dying from it.[16] In addition, smallpox claimed more than 6 percent of Boston's citizens in 1702, 1730 and again in 1752.[17] And the further south colonists chose to live, the greater the likelihood of contracting a fatal disease because the Southern colonies provided a more ideal environment for the promulgation of viruses.[18]

Fatal diseases were widespread in colonial America. Coupled with the fact that no more than four university-trained physicians practiced in the colonies before 1700, a considerable amount of improvisation or making do in the treatment of diseases naturally occurred.[19] That is where the colonial printers came into play. In the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, almanacs that they printed offered a variety of cure-alls. Samuel Atkins' 1686 almanac, *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, advertised cures for assorted "Feavers and Agues, Surfeits, Gripes, Plurisies, &c." They could be obtained from the most unlikely of sources, the almanac's printer, William Bradford.[20]

Other knowledgeable individuals published handbooks of treatments of disease, not unlike the home medical encyclopedias of the twentieth century. These books went through numerous printings. Twelve editions of John Tennent's *Every Man his own Doctor* were published after the Virginian released it in 1734.[21] Tennent's work was geared toward the Southern colonies and its "Multitude of Marshes, Swamps, and great

Waters," all of which "shut the pores all at once, and hinder insensible perspiration. From hence proceed FEVERS, COUGHS, QUINSIES, PLEURISIES, and CONSUMPTION. . . ."[22] Tennent's cures were as improvisational as any of the period. He suggested, for instance, taking away "10 Ounces of Blood" for three or four days in a row to cure pleurisy.[23]

Even more popular than Tennent's *Every Man his own Doctor* was the work of the father of Methodism, John Wesley. *Primitive Physick* ran through twenty-two printings. In the twelfth edition published in Philadelphia in 1764, Wesley offered the following terse advice for fighting breast cancer: "Use the Cold Bath. (This has cured many.)"[24]

While household medical guides and annual almanacs provided colonists with assorted cures for maladies, they could not possibly furnish their readers with the latest in discoveries and correctives because they were not published often enough. This niche was quickly filled by the weekly colonial newspaper. The paper could report on a week-by-week basis the emergence of a fatal disease outbreak. The newspaper could relate the occurrence of such diseases in other parts of the colonies. It could also present the latest in remedies for diseases and the latest in medical advancements. The weekly newspaper could also warn its readers of which treatments and physicians were dangerous. The colonial newspapers did all of these. The way in which they accomplished each of these tasks follows.

Colonial Newspapers and Disease

When the lone edition of *Publick Occurrences* hit the streets of Boston on September 25, 1690, the last two paragraphs of the first page honed in upon the diseases prevalent in Massachusetts Bay. In a paragraph loaded with current news, past history and editorial comment on the future, Benjamin Harris reported:

> The Small-pox which has been raging in Boston, after a manner very Extraordinary, is now very much abated. It is thought that far more have been sick of it then were visited with it, when it raged so much twelve years ago. . . . The number of them that have dyed in Boston by this last Visitation is about three hundred and twenty. . . . It seized upon all sorts of people that came in the way of it, it infected even Children in the bellies of Mothers that had themselves undergone the Disease many years ago for some such were now born full of the Distemper. 'Tis not easy to relate the Trouble and Sorrow that poor Boston has felt by this Epidemical Contagion. But we hope it will be pretty nigh Extinguished, by that time twelve month when it first began to Spread. . . ."[25]

For colonial newspaper readers, knowing when and where outbreaks of the fatal diseases occurred was often a life or death matter. In January 1712, "five or six everyday" were carried off by smallpox and other diseases in Rhode Island, the *Boston News-Letter* reported. The *News-Letter* was informing and warning Bostonians to avoid Rhode Island since "it is very Sickly and Mortal there."[26] Disease evidently abated very little in New England during 1712 because a *News-Letter* correspondent wrote to the paper in November that "the malignant Distemper, that proved so Mortal among us, the last Winter; especially in Hartford, Weatherford, and Glassenbury" had claimed "upwards of Forty, since last August" in Windsor and each of the towns mentioned.[27] A measles epidemic followed in 1714.[28]

While the smallpox epidemic of Boston in 1721 may have been the most deadly of the eighteenth century for the Massachusetts port and the most well documented, smallpox extracted a high cost in 1730 as well with at least 400 deaths.[29] Coverage of the disease began cautiously. The selectmen of the city--in an official report--stated that in "the Town of Boston, respecting Small-Pox, We find that it is only in Three Houses in the Town . . . and they are now all well Recovered."[30] The report by the leaders was obviously optimistic reporting of the facts because smallpox continued to claim lives in Boston and the surrounding countryside for at least nine months. In September, the *New-England Weekly Journal* reported that the selectmen "having made diligent Search thro' this Town, find but Six Persons now Sick of the Small-Pox."[31] Notices of smallpox outbreaks in New England continued throughout the year.[32]

Reporting epidemics was important,[33] but stopping them was of even more value. That is why the issue of inoculation continued to be of major importance in the colonies and did not end with the ebbing of the smallpox crisis of 1721.[34] Even before the Boston selectmen made their inspection of the houses of Boston for smallpox, the *New-England Weekly Journal* was advocating inoculations to stop the contraction of smallpox.[35] Later in the year, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* explained succinctly the values of inoculation.

> IN a Physical Sense, Inoculation is used for the Transplanting of Distempers from one Subject to another, particularly for the Ingraftment of the Small-Pox, which is a new Practice among us, but of ancient Origin in the Eastern Countries. . . . The Practice seems to be useful, because most proper Age, the favourable Season of the Year, the most regular method of Preparation, and all possible precautions may here be used. . . . Advantages impossible to be had when the Distemper is caught in the natural Way. It has also been constantly observed, that the best Sort of Small-Pox is hereby occasioned, that the Eruptions are few, the Symptoms light, the Danger next to none, the Recovery easy, and that the Patient is equally secured from this Distemper for the future, as he would be by having gone thro' it in the natural Way.[36]

The printers of colonial newspapers--following the inoculation controversy in Boston in 1721[37]--apparently believed firmly in inoculation and expended considerable space to convince their readers that having themselves infected with the disease was the only sure way to avoid a bout with death. In 1725, Philadelphia printer Andrew Bradford provided a piece of English news that "Princess Louisa, youngest Daughter to their Royal Highnesses . . . was inoculated for the Small Pox."[38] A month later, the *American Weekly Mercury* stated that the princess faced no danger from the killer disease.[39] If King George saw no danger in inoculating his daughter, the *Weekly Mercury* was intimating, then his subjects in America should see no danger in it either.

In Boston, Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green began printing smallpox deaths in the *New-England Weekly Journal* by comparing the number inoculated that died to the number of those who died after contracting the disease in the "natural" way. "[T]o make the utmost of this Computation, to the Prejudice of Inoculation," the *Weekly Journal* stated, "One in four died of the first Sixty in the Way of common Contagion, and four in a hundred have died of those that have been inoculated."[40] If simple arithmetic would not convince citizens to be inoculated, then perhaps publishing the names of all those who had decided to have themselves inoculated might help. On April 20, 1730, the *Weekly Journal* published a list of all of the Boston citizens that had been inoculated. Readers of the paper could search the list for names of important citizens and discover that in March, only two deaths occurred out of seventy-two inoculations.[41]

The concept of injecting one's body with a potentially fatal disease, despite the numerous newspaper accounts demonstrating the value of inoculation, was never universally accepted during the colonial period. Even in 1765, the *Maryland Gazette* was playing the numbers game for its readers.

> Suppose a Lottery with 116 Chances, and only One Blank in it; and Another, of 116 Chances with 21 Blanks in it; and the Prizes in Both, of equal Value; Would any Man, (in his Senses) who could have his Choice in the Two, chuse to Venture [his LIFE] in the Latter? This was the exact Case with regard to the Small-Pox in Boston last Year: From among those who took the Small-Pox by Inoculation, there Died only in that Proportion, One out of 116; And nearly One out of every Five who took it in the Natural Way.[42]

While presenting these numbers, the newspaper reported that Annapolis doctors would inoculate gratis any that so desired, but newspapers were offering the latest methods of self-inoculation and self-treatment for diseases. Following in the tradition of the almanac and home remedy companion, the colonial newspapers provided home treatments not only for smallpox but for a host of maladies.

Newspaper Remedies: Fanciful and Real

All of the newspaper accounts listing the odds of surviving smallpox made it seem inevitable in colonial America that one would contract it or some other serious disease. True physicians were scarce, and there was little that they could do, in most cases, when someone contracted one of the epidemical diseases.[43] A self-administered inoculation, therefore, provided as good preventative medicine as that performed by doctors. Newspapers printed detailed directions for self-treatment. In 1730, the *New-England Weekly Journal* explained how to perform inoculations using two incisions, pus from a live smallpox sore and lint. The lint, soaked in pus, was placed in the incisions and wrapped tightly.[44] Similar directions, given to Benjamin Franklin in England, were repeated thirty-five years later in the *South-Carolina Gazette* as the disease swept through that Southern colony. The *Gazette*'s directions were explicit:

> The proper time for taking the matter is just before it would have dried up. In order to take it, any sort of thread must be had ready about the thickness of a common pin. The head of one of the small-pox may be opened with a needle, or pin, and then the thread is to be drawn along this. . . . The thread thus wetted may be put into a common pill-box, into which air can easily get . . . and use it some days after. . . . Half an inch of that part of this thread which had been well soaked in the matter . . . must be cut off at the time of use. The person who is to be inoculated, must have the fine edge of a penknife or lancet, drawn along that part of the arm where issues are usually made; and it must go deep enough to make the blood just begin to appear. . . . In, or rather upon, this, the bit of thread must be put, and a small plaister of what is called the ladies black sticking plaister . . . is all which need be put over it to keep it on.[45]

With these directions, which also explained what must be done for the two weeks following the treatment, any family could inoculate itself.

Newspapers also provided treatments for other fatal contagions. In 1735 and for several years to follow, diphtheria, or throat distemper as the colonial newspapers referred to it, spread through New England. The *Boston Evening-Post* offered this "effectual Remedy":

> Take Corns of Stone-Horse Feet . . . put them into a Bag and dry them in a Chimney . . . grate off the rough part, powder the remainder, and take five times as much as will lay upon a Shilling heap'd up, put it into a Quart of French White Wine, and let it stand two Days; take a Quarter of a Pint a little warm going to Bed, and two Hours before rising in the Morning. . . .[46]

To stop rabies, which was more fatal if contracted than diphtheria or smallpox, the colonial newspaper remedy called for a mixture of ground liverwort and black pepper in warm cow's milk. After four doses of this, the infected person needed to spend approximately thirty seconds every day for the next nine weeks submerged to his neck in very cold water.[47]

Several of the treatments found in the colonial newspapers had nothing to do with disease. Instead, they sought to provide relief from everyday afflictions. Toothaches, the *Newport Mercury* stated, could be cured "by the touch of an artificial magnet." All the afflicted had to do was face the north pole to be "cured by the touch."[48] Wells for drinking water were constantly in need of repair, but they were often filled with gases that could render unconscious those who descended them to clean out obstructions. Sharing a tip from coalminers in England, one writer to the *New-York Weekly Journal* explained that for suffocation

> cut a hole in the Grassy Ground big enough for a Mans Face, and lay the Man upon his Belly, and his Face in this hole, where he lyes perhaps one Hour, sometimes two, and then (the Earth having drawn from him the Sulphurous matter he had taken in by reason of the Damp) he comes to Life again and is well only small Sickness at his Stomack remains with him two or three Days. Note. The Person so taken has no pulse, Breath, or any other Signs of Life, only that the Body is not Stiff but Limber. . . .[49]

An even more serious problem encountered in everyday colonial life involved water. Because water was vital for transportation, colonists were often in boats. As might be expected, numerous drownings occurred. The *Boston Evening-Post* offered a cure for drowning victims that had been performed on a cat in England, the insinuation being that such methods would also work with humans. After being dead for half an hour, the cat was laid before a fire and covered with salt. Next, its body was gently rubbed until it was revived. The cat, after this treatment, began to crawl and make noises.[50]

Because there were so few physicians in America, experimentation for correctives like that performed on the drowned cat were natural. Also, colonists brought with them a number of family and traditional herbal cures for diseases from England.[51] The lack of medical doctors and the penchant for home remedies led to a number of "miracle cures" during the colonial period. These "miracle cures" contained the power to heal a great number of diseases or accidental injuries. Some of the strongest claims for curing power went to three potions--tar water, the Negro Cæsar's cure for poison and Chinese stones.

The Irish philosopher and church bishop, George Berkeley, penned a treatise on tar water, and the *Virginia Gazette*, for three weeks in May 1745, drew from his "Treatis on Tar-Water," explaining how to make the medication and what maladies it would cure. Tar water was, just as it named implied, water mixed with tar or the resin of pine trees. The *Gazette* opened its series on tar water by explaining how to create the elixir:

> Tar-Water is made, by putting a Quart of cold Water to a Quart of Tar, and stirring them well together in a Vessel, which is left standing 'til the Tar sinks to the Bottom. A Glass of clear Water being pured off for a Draught, is replaced by the same Quantity of fresh Water, the Vessel being shaken and left to stand as before. And this is repeated for every Glass, so long as the Tar continues to impregnate the Water sufficiently. . . .[52]

Once tar water reached its proper consistency, its uses were numerous. It could be taken "as a Preservative or Preparative against the Small-pox," to halt "Distemper" or to heal "Ulceration of the Bowels." Tar water held the cure for "Indigestion" and provided individuals with "a good Appetite." Tar water, according to the *Gazette*'s publication of Berkeley's treatise, was "an excellent Medicine for Asthma" and produced "quick Circulation to the Juices without heating." For individuals who might need to lose weight, tar water could be used to make "Diet-Drinks."[53]

If curing these maladies were not enough, the following week of the *Virginia Gazette* proclaimed tar water as a cure for the "Bloody Flux," "Gout" and "Gangrene from an internal Cause." In addition, Berkeley's "miracle cure" was "an excellent antihysteric" and worked on "hypochondriacal Disorders." Used as a rub, tar water was "an excellent Preservative of the Teeth and Gums," and it "sweetens the Breath" and "clears and strengthens the Voice."[54]

To prove that tar water worked, the *Gazette*'s printer William Parks, included an example of the medicine's power against the most deadly of enemies--smallpox. "In one Family there was a remarkable instance of several Children," the paper stated, "who came all very well thro' the Small-pox, except one young Child which could not be brought to drink Tar-Water as the rest had done."[55]

Although not as comprehensive a cure-all as tar water, "The Negro Cæsar's cure for Poison" offered a welcome remedy from snakebites and other types of poisoning. Cæsar's cure was made by boiling "the roots of Plantane and wild Hoarehound" and was taken by fasting patients. In addition to being taken internally, it was applied to the bite of a rattlesnake with "a leaf of good Tobacco moisten'd with Rum."[56] Just as other wonder cures provided proof of their ability to do as promised, the letter writer to the *South-Carolina Gazette* that provided the information about Cæsar's Cure did the same, saying that the root concoction "never fails" with rattlesnake bites.[57]

While tar water and Cæsar's cure for poison were proclaimed to be potent remedies, another "Chymical Composition, called Chinese Stones" produced all of the cures of the other two and more. Benjamin Franklin must have found Chinese Stones to be a wonderful drug or a source of tremendous amusement because the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 17, 1745, dedicated considerable space to the stones. Franklin was not the only one to find the Chinese Stones, introduced by a Mr. Torres, fascinating. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*'s accounts of them came to Philadelphia from Rhode Island, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland. The *Maryland Gazette*'s discussion of the stones on November 8, 1745, traveled to Annapolis from Boston. And perhaps not by coincidence, Mr. Torres happened to be in Philadelphia when the *Pennsylvania Gazette* printed this series of articles and offered the stones for sale.

The description of the stones began with a certification that they would "effectually cure the Bites of all venomous or poisonous Creatures; as Rattle (and other) Snakes, Scorpions, mad Dogs, &c." As proof, the article stated, "The Experiment has been made in the Bay of Honduras, on the Bodies of two white Men, and four Negroes, who were bit by Rattle-snakes, the said Stones being applied to the Wound, and the Persons cured immediately."[58]

Not only could snakebites be cured by the Chinese stones, the miracle cure healed a toothache, sore eyes and a swollen foot overnight in North Carolina. The stones cured rheumatism and sciatic pains in Virginia, and a cancer "was cured with one Bag of this Powder." It appeared to cure appendicitis in Maryland and completely cured hemorrhoids in Philadelphia. For those without an appetite, a bag of Chinese stones "laid on the Pit of the Stomach" immediately created an appetite. Gout, the bloody flux and all sorts of distempers could be vanquished by Chinese stones, the certified accounts in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* claimed.[59]

Even though few actual medical advancements were made during the colonial period and most medical "discoveries" were of the tar water or Chinese stones variety, several real cures occurred during this time period. Two of the most important that appeared in the colonial newspapers dealt with the removal of cataracts and stones.[60] Identical articles in the *New-York Weekly Journal* and *American Weekly Mercury* of Philadelphia in 1735 described how a London doctor had perfected a method for removing cataracts. Dr. Taylor, the articles said, could now remove cataracts without "Wating for what the vulgar call the Maturity of the Cataract."[61] Cataracts could, evidently, be removed by Dr. Taylor before the patient lost sight because of them. In addition, the article claimed, "this Operation requires little or no Confinement, and cannot be attended or succeeded by any Pain." Dr. Taylor promised that "not one

Example can be produced who has been disappointed of this Success."[62] When such operations were performed in the colonies, however, is not reported.

Stones were cut out of patients in America, however. The *Essex Gazette* of Salem, Massachusetts reported such an operation from New Hampshire in 1770. The account of the important medical event appeared as follows:

> Last Monday Morning the Rev. Mr. Samuel Drowne, Pastor of one of the Churches at Portsmouth, New-Hampshire went thro' the dangerous Operation of being cut for the Stone, a Disorder he has for some years past been severely exercised with; and a very large rough one was taken out of his Bladder: He is now in a fair Way of Recovery. Some further Particulars may be made public hereafter.--We hear this ingenious and difficult Operation was performed by Dr. Hall Jackson of that Place.[63]

One of the great discoveries of the colonial period did occur in America. In the mid-1740s, Benjamin Franklin began his experiments with electricity.[64] Although the work with electricity was not done with cures for disease and physical ailments in mind, enterprising researchers in America and Europe sought to apply electricity to the art of healing. A Suffolk, Virginia gentleman, the *Boston Evening-Post* reported in 1750, had conducted electrical investigations that produced cures for toothaches, headaches, deafness, sprains and nervous disorders. The experimenter, the news account explained, "applied the Electrical Fire to the human Frame." As a result, "[a] Negro Boy, about sixteen Years of Age, who had always been so Deaf as scarcely to hear the loudest Sounds, has by the same means been brought to hear, when spoken to in a common Tone of Voice."[65]

In Stockholm, the *Virginia Gazette* noted in 1755, electrical shock cured, deafness, lameness, toothaches, oozing blood and dislocations caused by smallpox.[66]

John Wesley, the Methodists' founding father and author of the popular remedy text, *Primitive Physick*, felt electricity "comes the nearest an universal medicine of any yet known in the world."[67] But the use of electricity to cure the host of diseases described in the pages of colonial newspapers approached quackery, just as the use of tar water and Chinese stones to cure smallpox did. The citizens of the eighteenth century turned to quackery out of desperation.[68] But despite the advocacy of cures that could only work with luck, the colonial newspapers also warned their readers of the dangers of quacks and dangerous, useless medicines.

One such warning appeared in the *New-England Weekly Journal* in 1735. The paper reported "that a certain Person . . . has lately turn'd Occulist, and tried his Skill upon several." Becoming a physician was not an uncommon practice in the eighteenth century. Formal training for medical doctors was rare in the colonies, and anyone vaguely familiar with medical literature was often called upon for treatment.[69] The Occulist from "Prince-Town in the Jerseys" probably fell into that category, but his medical treatment produced tragic results. The newspaper stated:

> It seems his Operations have turn'd out contrary to the Desire of his Patients, for instead of restoring their Sight, he intirely takes it away. This Effect his Experiments have had in particular on Mr. Benjamin Randolph, who before this blind Occulist had any thing to do with his Eyes, could See, but now he is quite Blind and in great Pain. *It's to be hop'd People will take Caution by this who they suffer to meddle with their Sight; and not emply those who will put out both their Eyes to make them see clearly.*[70]

The *Boston Evening-Post* issued a similar warning for Bostonians to be on guard against a pair of quack doctors from New York who were currently operating in New England in 1770.[71]

Even some of the great cure-alls were debunked by the very papers that had extolled their virtues. The Chinese stones, for example, were promoted as great remedies in both the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Maryland Gazette*, but both newspapers printed a letter unmasking the wonder cure. Acidus, the letter writer, said Torres, who sold a Chinese stone or a bag of ground stone for twenty-five shillings, "ought to be ashamed" for taking advantage of gullible people. The Chinese stones, the letter said, were nothing more than pieces of bone that had been rasped "into what shape you please, and then burn it in hot Embers." All the stones really possessed, the letter writer concluded, were "all the Virtues of -----a new Tobacco Pipe."[72]

The *Essex Gazette* issued perhaps the first warning in America against the use of tobacco. Often laden with assorted chemicals according to a medical report released in London, the tobacco and chemical combination, "may affect the brain, the stomach and breast." The article then stated:

> persons who are subject to that unwholesome, expensive, and uncleanly custom of taking snuff . . . ought to be avoided or dismissed by all sensible, cleanly, rational, and delicate persons. All parents, preceptors, &c. should be attentive not to permit youth that dirty, prejudicial habit. The present of a snuff-box is the most useless and detrimental gift that can be made to a child, for many young persons have been induced to take snuff from the vanity to show their boxes.[73]

All of the warnings issued by the colonial newspapers were pointing toward a standardization in medicine and medical practices. Although it would not happen in America during the colonial period, such a movement was already under way in England. Because of the numerous cures such as tar water, Chinese stones, electricity and Cæsar's cure for poison, a special committee from the college of physicians planned to investigate "the good or bad qualities of each [remedy] previous to their being sent abroad into the world, as often to the ruin of multitudes of the unwary, who from the motive of cheapness . . . are induced to make use of them."[74] American physicians began to adopt a similar approach in the 1790s, but it did not make many inroads until the nineteenth century.[75]

Conclusion

Diseases and their cures were an important part of colonial life. The inclusion of so much medical news about illnesses and cures for everything from smallpox to "hypochondriacal Disorders" in the colonial newspapers supports this fact. The large amount of medical news also demonstrates that the colonial newspapers reflected the concerns and needs of society to find a way to halt the spread of these maladies. Unfortunately, cures for diseases were neither discovered nor proper methods for treating them understood by eighteenth-century physicians. That is why Dr. William Douglass remarked in 1760 that "more die of the practitioner than of the natural course of the disease."[76] That is also the reason why so many "miracle cures" appeared in the colonial newspapers. Natural elixirs made of roots, leaves and horns were believed to be the way to cure diseases, and the assorted articles in the colonial newspapers prove this.

Medical news in the colonial newspapers also demonstrates society's desire faster and more accurate news on subjects of real importance. Almanacs and medical books existed for the colonial citizen containing assorted cures, but almanacs were published yearly. And books of cures could be printed, but they could not reach the people as quickly or as easily as the same news in a weekly newspaper. In addition, neither almanacs nor medical books could contain notices of where the latest epidemic had erupted or what cures and curers were dangerous. Hundreds of copies of the *Virginia Gazette*, for example, could no doubt be printed, delivered and shared by large numbers of readers before William Parks or any other colonial printer could produce a similar number of Dr. Berkeley's tar water treatise.

Medical news was a vital part of the news in colonial newspapers, yet it is overlooked. It is overlooked not because it did not exist or tells us nothing about the times but because most nonpolitical news of the colonial newspapers is neglected. Colonial newspapers' medical news illustrates the variety of news contained in the papers of the eighteenth century. Although American newspapers were in their infancy, they were more than sheets of clipped political and war news from Europe.

The newspapers of the colonial period sought to provide their readers with "A Receipt against the PLAGUE," and they attempted to stay abreast of the latest news of disease outbreaks and epidemics both locally and colony-wide. The colonial newspapers were reasonably effective at both. That is why the *Boston Evening-Post*, in the midst of news of political unrest and potential revolution in 1775, could also state, "Upon a strict Enquiry no one has the Distemper in Town."[77] News of disease was important to the colonial citizen, and the newspapers met the need to know with varied medical information.

ENDNOTES

1. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 23 February 1760, 2. The table of smallpox deaths appeared in the *Gazette* on 16 February 1760, 1.

2. While many historians--media historians included--terminate the colonial period in 1765, America remained a group of English colonies until 1776. For the purposes of this research, the colonial period extends to 1776, even though a growing revolutionary fervor captured the attention of the presses of America with the Stamp Act crisis of 1765.

3. *Publick Occurrences* (Boston), 25 September 1690, 1.

4. Sidney Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (1944; reprint, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), 14-15, 21.

5. Kobre discusses the inoculation controversy of 1721 that took place in Boston. *Ibid.*, 31-2.

6. C. Edward Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy: A Revisionist Interpretation," *Journalism History* 7 (Spring 1980): 16-19, 40.

7. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism A History: 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 16-19; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 7th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988), 25; Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of Media in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989), 21.

8. John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), vii.

9. The twelve newspapers used for this study were chosen for several reasons, not the least of which was availability. Coverage of the colonies also played a factor in newspaper selection. The selection includes several newspapers from Boston and two from Philadelphia. The other selections provide broad coverage of the colonies.

10. This method should provide a sample size of more than 2,500 newspapers and a standard error of less than 2 percent, providing an accurate representation of the colonial newspapers' treatment of Native Americans. For an explanation of sample size and standard error, *see* Donald P. Warwick and Charles A. Lininger, *The Sample Survey: Theory and Practice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 93. Warwick and Lininger demonstrate that a survey sample of 500 produces a standard error of 4 percent. In order to reduce the chance of error to 3 percent, 1,000 samples would

have to be taken, and 2,500 samples would be required to reduce to error margin to 2 percent.

11. P. M. Ashburn, *The Ranks of Death: A Medical History of the Conquest of America* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1947), 80-82.

12. Mary J. Dobson, "Mortality Gradients and Disease Exchanges: Comparisons from Old England and Colonial America," *Social History of Medicine* 2 (1989): 259-297.

13. Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Numbers Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 11.

14. Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (1976): 289-99.

15. James H. Cassedy, *Medicine in America: A Short History* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 4-5.

16. Duffy, 51.

17. Dobson, 284.

18. *Ibid.*, 269-73.

19. Richard Harrison Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660-1860* (New York: New York University Press, 1960), 7; Cassedy, 10-11.

20. *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, printed in Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American ALMANACS: The Colonial WEEKDAY BIBLE* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), 187.

21. Cassedy, 15.

22. John Tennent, *Every Man his own Doctor: or, The Poor Planter's Physician* (Williamsburg, 1734), 4.

23. *Ibid.*, 9.

24. John Wesley, *Primitive Physick: or, an Easy and Natural METHOD of curing Most Diseases*, 12th ed. (Philadelphia, 1764), 26.

25. *Publick Occurrences* (Boston), 25 September 1690, 1-2.

26. *Boston News-Letter*, 21 January 1711(2), 2.

27. *Ibid.*, 24 November 1712, 2.

28. *Ibid.*, 25 January 1713(4), 2; 15 March 1713(4), 2; 5 April 1714, 2.

29. John B. Blake, *Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630-1822* (Cambridge, 1959), 47-51; in Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1979), 104.

30. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 12 January 1730, 2.

31. *Ibid.*, 21 September 1730, 2.

32. *Ibid.*, 21 December 1730, 2.

33. Every colonial newspaper read for this study included news about the outbreak of disease. Space limits the inclusion of each. According to the papers, large epidemics occurred in Virginia in 1755, in South Carolina in 1760, in Maryland in 1765 and in North Carolina in 1735. These are but four examples out of many. And when smallpox was the disease involved, the inoculation question was often part of the news that surrounded the sickness.

34. Wilson, in "The Boston Inoculation Controversy: A Revisionist Interpretation," says that the issue of inoculation "fizzled out" by the summer of 1721 and intimates that it was no real issue in 1730 (p. 19). Inoculation was still a controversial issue in 1730 and later, as newspapers from Boston to Charleston demonstrate.

35. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 5 January 1730, 1.

36. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 28 May 1730, 1.

37. The inoculation controversy of 1721 pitted the anti-inoculation forces of Boston, led by Dr. William Douglass and printer James Franklin, against the pro-inoculation group headed by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston and the Puritan divine Cotton Mather. Douglass was the only physician in Boston with a medical degree, but he absolutely refused to inoculate. Mather, on the other hand, studied the practice and had Boylston inoculate his children. Because of the strong stances taken by both sides and because printer James Franklin sided with the anti-inoculation forces, the Boston inoculation controversy became a war of words in the Boston newspapers during 1721. For a more complete discussion of the 1721 controversy, *see* Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy," and Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America*, 23-33.

38. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 22 July 1725, 2.

39. *Ibid.*, 19 August 1725, 2.

40. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 6 April 1730, 2.

41. *Ibid.*, 20 April 1730, 1.

42. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 14 March 1765, 2. On page one, the *Gazette* offered another mathematical computation on smallpox. "Upon deliberate Examination it appears by our public Accounts, that of 3434 Persons Inoculated in the Inoculating Hospital, only Ten have died; whereas of the Number of 6000 and odd having the Small Pox in the natural Way, dying in the same Hospital, upon the lowest Computation it is Twenty-five in an Hundred. The Question is, if in common Life this is not Ten or Twenty per Cent short of the ordinary Mortality by the Disease? . . ."

43. Shryock, 5.

44. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 2 March 1730, 1.

45. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 19 April 1760, 1.

46. *Boston Evening-Post*, 4 February 1740, 1.

47. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 18 November 1735, 1.

48. *Newport Mercury*, 25 February 1765, 1.

49. *New-York Weekly Journal*, 14 April 1740, 1.

50. *Boston Evening-Post*, 6 May 1765, 3.

51. Cassedy, 10. For a discussion of numerous backcountry cures practiced in America, *see* David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 711-14.

52. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 9 May 1745, 1.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, 16 May 1745, 1.

55. *Ibid.*, 9 May 1745, 1.

56. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 14 May 1750, 1.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 17 October 1745, 3.

59. *Ibid.*

60. It should be noted that during the eighteenth century most surgery was performed for emergencies, that is, for superficial growths, amputations and the like. Surgery for cataracts--even though they technically would be a superficial growth--could be considered fairly advanced since most disorders were considered to reside in the humors--blood, bile and the like (Shryock, 59).

61. *New-York Weekly Journal*, 8 December 1735, 2; *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 18 December 1735, 2.

62. *Ibid*.

63. *Essex Gazette* (Salem, Massachusets), 16 January 1770, 3.

64. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 156.

65. *Boston Evening-Post*, 1 January 1750, 1.

66. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 14 March 1755, 2.

67. John Wesley, *Diary of John Wesley*, quoted in Maurice Bear Gordon, *Æsculapius Comes to the Colonies* (Ventnor, N.J.: Ventnor Publishers, Inc., 1949), 498.

68. Shryock, 5.

69. Cassedy, 10.

70. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 21 October 1735, 2, emphasis included.

71. *Boston Evening-Post*, 7 May 1770, 3.

72. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 31 October 1745, 2; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 8 November 1745, 4.

73. *Essex Gazette* (Salem, Massachusetts), 2 January 1770, 4.

74. *Newport Mercury*, 17 June 1765, 2.

75. Shryock, 117-166.

76. William Douglass, *A Summary, historical and political, of the first planting, progressive improvements, and present state of the British Settlements in North America* (London, 1760); quoted in Duffy, 4.

77. *Boston Evening-Post*, 23 January 1775, 3.

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A GRIM ELATION:
PRESS REACTION TO THE ATOMIC BOMB
AUGUST 1945

A research paper submitted for possible presentation at the 1993 annual meeting of the American Journalism Historians Association in Salt Lake City, Utah.

by

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April 28, 1993

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ABSTRACT

The American public had supported a two-front war for over three and a half years and was preparing for the invasion of Japan when the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The public reaction was one of relief, while government officials scrambled to decide how to regulate the new threat.

This paper investigates the reaction of the press, which initially echoed both points of view. In the first week after Hiroshima, *The New York Times* stressed the power of the bomb, describing the test explosion and the two drops in breathless detail. They also emphasized the responsible way Allied leaders handled development and management of the bomb. As a backdrop, the *Times* printed pieces about every imaginable aspect of atomic energy, from the first letter to Roosevelt to the postdrop palls over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the first month, *Time* magazine synthesized the news, but he themes remained consistent, for the most part. Although the surreal, adventurous elements of atomic power were played up in the magazine, *Time* also conveyed the sense of awe evident in the *Times*. Allied leaders were portrayed as careful and responsible, and American science was glorified—just as in *The New York Times*.

In all, the immediate press reaction to the atomic bomb was divided, just as informed sentiment must have been. Hope for peace and future uses of the power source alternated with terror at its implications. The schizophrenic reaction was further marked by trust in the Allied leaders, and an almost naive treatment of the event as near-fiction. The bomb barely seemed real in this flurry of initial coverage.

> "We have just dropped a bomb on Japan which has more power than 20,000 tons of TNT. It was an overwhelming success."
>
> —Harry S Truman
> August 6, 1945
> on board U.S.S. *Augusta*[1]

By the summer of 1945, the United States had spent $300 billion and 251,000 lives on World War II[2]. Most Americans could not have quoted these numbers, but many had lost sons, brothers, or husbands, and nearly all had suffered through rationing, vacation postponements, and unavailability of many items. After more than three and one half years of sacrifice, the United States was ready to be finished with this war.

Following V-E Day, the focus moved to the Pacific. Troops in Europe prepared to ship out to join their countrymen in what might be an even tougher assignment: The island-hopping plan executed in the Pacific often required grueling hand-to-hand combat for every yard of soil. The final invasion of Japan was expected to engage more than1.5 million soldiers[3], and tales of fighting so far led many to fear that casualties would soar in a hard-fought, inch-by-inch conquest.

Into this environment dropped the atom bomb. In literally one stroke, Japan seemed beaten. President Truman made the announcement in the mess of the ship on which he was returning from Potsdam.

The official statement was soon released to the press. It said nearly the same thing in announcing this weapon, "which can be a tremendous force for the advancement of civilization as well as for destruction."[4]

The texts of statements from British ex-Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill and then Prime Minister Clement W. Attlee similarly cited the power of the bomb in awe-struck tones.[5] But in a country anxious to lose no more soldiers, the attitude of the public was less grave. Gallup polling conducted August 10-15 revealed that 85 percent of Americans approved of "using the new atomic bomb on Japanese cities."[6] By August 24-29, 69 percent still thought "it was a good thing that the atomic bomb was developed," although only 47 percent thought "that atomic energy would be developed in the next ten years to supply power for industry and other things."[7]

Scientists involved in the development of the atomic bomb were so concerned that they formed the Federation of Atomic Scientists to attempt to defeat a bill before Congress that would put atomic control in the hands of the military. They pressed for and won a civilian Atomic Energy Commission.[8]

But what was the reaction of the press, the "agenda-setters" to whom most Americans looked for information? A cautious national leadership had just released news that would make the public jubilant for a short time, at least, but that obviously had far-reaching implications for the future. Many members of the press knew something about the bomb, and had had some time to contemplate its implications, for better or worse, before the news broke.[9]

Hines[10] thought the "newspaper itself has reflected the nation's bewilderment at the release of fundamental force." Written in 1947, these words are strongly reminiscent of the "fundamental power" statements which were prevalent in August 1945. He continues, "Press coverage of the bomb, from the first flash at Alamogordo, was in the tradition of thoroughness."

Boyer[11], 40 years later, interpreted the coverage differently. He referred to the "initial confusion of emotion and welter of voices."

The New York Times was taken as an example of newspaper reaction, *Time* magazine as a representative weekly magazine. The instantaneous reaction was of more interest than the more structured coverage that would emerge with time. Therefore, the study focused on one week of *The New York Times* and one month of *Time.*

In order to assess the immediate reaction of the national press to the atomic bomb, this study used a qualitative immersion technique. An initial throrough reading provided a context for the coverage in general. A second scan was used to code specific references to the atomic bomb. A third reading allowed coding of articles and individual paragraphs for themes identified in the first two, and a fourth was specifically devoted to columns, editorials and letters to the editor.

This research supported the findings of both Hines and Boyer, to a point. Several themes emerged from each publication in the first few issues of the Atomic Age, and a few such motifs were ubiquitous. However, the incredible plethora of information, on all sides of the issue, could easily lead the casual observer to think all was confusion. In fact, the coverage, particularly in *Time*, which had more time to winnow out the chaff, so to speak, was amazingly focused around these themes.

The New York Times was more eclectic by virtue of being more complete, but interestingly, *Time* seemed a microcosm of the newspaper, mirroring its major themes for the most part.

Both publications stressed the awesome power of the bomb. Both were impressed at the achievement. Both were divided in their assessment of whether this was a happy event or a tragic one, and both emphasized and reemphasized how responsibly and thoughtfully the Western leaders were handling the power.

Whether they had been hoarding information under the voluntary censorship imposed by the Office of Censorship (OC), or were simply inundated with Office of War Information (OWI) and War Department news releases, the two publications put out prodigious amounts of information, and the thematic continuity is amazing.

BACKGROUND

By 1939, physicist Leo Szilard and Albert Einstein were concerned enough about atomic fission to draft a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Einstein signed the letter, which emphasized the possiblities for atomic fission for military purposes and urged the President to appoint someone to oversee such developments within the United

States.[12] Roosevelt responded by forming the Advisory Committee on Uranium, which was later incorporated into the National Defense Research Committee.[13]

In June, 1942, Dr. Vannevar Bush, chairman of the NDRC, pointed out to President Roosevelt that a very powerful weapon could be made based on the theory of atomic fision, and might even be ready "in time to inluence the outcome of the present war."[14] A new Army Corps of Engineers district was immediately formed to direct this research, and on September 17, Brigadier General Leslie R. Groves took over its operation.[15] Soon the district was named "Manhattan" and began design and construction of plants near Clinton, Tennessee, although the processes which would take place inside those plants were not perfected. In fact, there was as yet no proof that they could be made to work at all.[16]

By the summer of 1945, there were several research and development sites under the cloak of the Manhattan District.

The Clinton Engineer Works employed a maximum of 24,000 workers to build and run the plant, used to enrich naturally occurring uranium(U)-235 in one of its components, the fissionable U-238. The town of Oak Ridge sprang up on the site to shelter and support the workers and their families.[17] The Hanford Engineer Works, near Hanford, Washington, converted uranium to plutonium, which is more easily fissionable and more powerful than uranium.[18]

The bomb assembly site at Los Alamos, New Mexico, was home to the theorists and scientists who put the bombs together and tested one on July 16, 1945. Research on electromagnetic separation of U-235 from U-238 was being carried out at the University of California, Berkeley.[19] Research on the actual fission process and the critical mass needed to achieve it was being carried out at the University of Chicago.[20] Research on a gaseous diffusion of U-238 from U-235 was being carried out at Columbia University in New York City.[21]

After 34 months and $2 billion, three bombs had been made: Two were equipped with implosion triggers, which would start the chain reaction by forcing uranium together. The third was a plutonium bomb, activated by a gun-like mechanism.[22] A July 16, 1945 test at Alamo Gordo, New Mexico, proved that the implosion bomb was workable, indeed devastating.[23]

On August 6, 1945, a second uranium bomb was dropped by a single B-29 bomber, the *Enola Gay*, on the city of Hiroshima, Japan. On August 9, the *Great Artiste* dropped the plutonium bomb on Nagasaki. On August 14 surrender negotiations were complete.

In 1939, scientists involved in atomic research imposed upon themselves a voluntary censorship. They would refrain from publishing results of such research as might be militarily valuable. Because of the secrecy surrounding the subject in general and the Manhattan District in specific, little information reached the press in the first years of atomic development. The Office of Censorship was alerted to the endeavor at the end of March, 1943.[24]

On June 28, 1943, OC sent a note to editors to be careful with material discussing

> Production or utilization of atom smashing, atomic energy, atomic fission, or any of their equivalents.
>
> The use for military purposes of radium or radioactive materials, heavy water, high voltage discharge equipment, cyclotrons.
>
> The following elements or any of their compounds: polonium, uranium, ytterbium, hafnium, protactinium, radium, rhenium, thorium, deuterium.[25]

Few major leaks occurred after the memo went out, but the number of small stories and slight references between this time and August, 1945, make it clear that some members of the press corps had at least an inkling of what was going on. Groves' staff was concerned enough to begin compiling leaks, turning over a list to OC in September, 1944, of 104 references to atomic energy in the press. Of these, 77 came after the June, 1943, memo.[26]

Although the public was unprepared, at least some of the press had obviously had some opportunity to mull the implications of this new power, even if only in theory. What then, was press reaction to the attack on Hiroshima?

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Coverage of the atomic bomb in *The New York Times* spanned a range of themes, but some were emphasized. There was a great deal of awe at the sheer power of the new weapon, and a sense of pride in the achievement. The quality of American science was stressed, although often in a tone that was more typical of an adventure story than of a well-respected newspaper. But there was also fear, worry at the implications, and recurring attempts to explain or justify dropping the atomic bomb, particularly after Nagasaki.

The first issue, August 7, presaged the mixed emotions with which Americans would quickly come to regard the atomic bomb. Headlines ranged from the exultant page one banner:

> FIRST ATOMIC BOMB DROPPED ON JAPAN;
> MISSILE IS EQUAL TO 20,000 TONS OF TNT;
> TRUMAN WARNS FOE OF A 'RAIN OF RUIN'[27]

to the more ominous "Science Still Seeks Atomic Energy Rein"[28] on page six.

Extracting detail from the flood of information that issued from the Office of War Information (OWI) and the War Department, The New York Times published pieces on the July 16 test of the atomic bomb at Alamo Gordo, New Mexico[29]; the researchers involved in its development[30]; the "hidden cities" where the work was undertaken[31]; the scientific basis of the atomic bomb[32]; the assistance of the labor unions at the plants[33]; Truman's announcement of the bombing[34]; and stories of cooperation between Great Britain, the United States, and Canada[35], in addition to the bombing itself.

Two more reassuring pieces were the self-explanatory "Big Peace Role for Atom"[36] and "Atom Bomb Is Result of Steady Progress of Arms from Catapult that Hurled Rocks,"[37] the latter with the message that the atomic bomb was just another war development, like gunpowder, and not a world-changing development. This was the first and only time such a statement was offered.

On a more ominous note was "The Atomic Weapon," a column by Hanson W. Baldwin that stressed the implications, political and otherwise, of the atomic bomb:

> Yesterday man unleashed the atom to destroy man, and another chapter in human history opened, a chapter in which the weird, the strange, the horrible becomes the trite and the obvious. Yesterday we clinched victory in the Pacific, but we sowed the whirlwind....
>
> ...Atomic energy may well lead to a bright new world in which man shares a common brotherhood, or we shall become—beneath the bombs and rockets—a world of troglodytes.[38]

Within the text from August 7 and subsequent issues, the terms "terribly destructive" and "fundamental [or basic] power of the universe" were used so often that they became instant clichès.

"Terrible" seemed to be used in the sense of awesome or awe-inspiring, and it is useful to consider this usage. Much of the text focused, especially initially, on the power of the atomic bomb and on the awe it inspired in observers, scientists and anyone else who knew the details. This feeling was not limited to the explosion itself, but also applied to atomic physics as a whole, as well as the civilian and military enterprise that had quietly produced this marvel. "The imagination-sweeping experiment"[39] had produced the "greatest achievement of science in history,"[40] a "scientific landmark."[41]

Later, descriptions from reconnaissance photographs began to dribble in, and estimates of 60 percent destruction of Hiroshima[42] and 30 percent of Nagasaki[43] were reported and re-reported.

Various descriptions of the test blast in New Mexico were also used to convey the power of the atomic bomb. A Harvard geophysicist, stationed 50 miles away to view the test, reported:

> 'It beggars description.
> When it let go, it lit up 180 degrees of the horizon not like one but like a dozen brilliant suns.
> Fifty miles away, it was like an earthquake.
> It created a crater one-half mile across and a quarter of a mile long.'[44]

After the destruction in Nagasaki was surveyed, the plutonium bomb was characterized as "too tremendous to believe"[45] by one observer. *Newsweek* correspondent Robert Shaplen said viewing the city from the air was "like looking over the rim of a volcano in the process of exploding."[46]

General Carl Spaatz, who planned and oversaw bombing in the Pacific theatre, made much tamer comments, calling the results "good," but these were reported only once[47] and generally abandoned for more sensational, visceral reactions.

Two secondary themes, while prominent, took back seats to the power and awe statements: The whole development, from the 1939 discovery of radioactivity to Hiroshima, was often recounted in terms of high adventure, and Western leaders ,notably Truman, Roosevelt, Attlee and Churchill, were portrayed as responsible, thoughtful, careful trustees of the great secret.

A SENSE OF ADVENTURE

Lewis Wood described the July 16 test, "a scene of great drama," in which the steel tower carrying the atomic bomb was "vaporized" against a "wild background" (it was a stormy day, just after dawn). The "tense" scientists leapt "in glee," behind which was the knowledge that they had perfected "the means to end the war and save thousands of American lives." An observer commented that, "We puny things were blasphemous to dare tamper with the force heretofore reserved for the Almighty."[48]

This article was heavily adventurous throughout, and it is not an isolated example. "Science Still Seeks Atomic Energy Rein" led off with "The *Queen Mary* crossing the Atlantic on a teacupful of fuel ... has been envisaged tonight as a result of the discovery of ... atomic energy."[49]

In the adventure category are also articles describing what Churchill (responsibly) called "the hitherto secret details of the grisly race"[50] with the Axis for atomic power. An August 7 page one story asserted that "Germany narrowly missed the most destructive force on earth,"[51] and an August 10 piece described in vivid detail the story of the Norwegian underground and their successful destruction of German heavy-water capabilities.[52]

RESPONSIBLE LEADERS

Not all of the articles were as breathless. Many stressed the thoughtfulness of President Truman and others, including Albert Einstein, who insisted on thinking the matter through for several days before making any statement.[53]

The texts of statements by Truman, Attlee, and Churchill all emphasized the gravity of the discovery, and were excerpted extensively as well as being printed in their entirety.[54] Sidney Shallet's August 7 lead set the tone:

> There was an element of elation in the realization that we had perfected this devastating weapon for employment against an enemy who started the war and has told us she would rather be destroyed than surrender, but it was a grim elation. There was sobering awareness of the tremendous responsibility involved.[55]

This was the only explicit statement of this nature, but the themes (responsible leaders and, to a lesser extent, retribution) were echoed throughout the week.

JUSTIFYING THE BOMB

From the beginning, *The New York Times* seemed to feel compelled to justify the bomb's use. In addition to the mentions of racing against Germany to develop the atomic bomb, readers were often reminded that the war would surely end more quickly due to the bombing.[56] Recounting Truman's personal announcement aboard the U.S.S. *Augusta*, the correspondent reported hearing "on every hand, 'I guess I'll get home sooner now.'"[57]

Between Augsut 7 and August 10, the bomb was often characterized as a retribution against a recalcitrant enemy. On August 9, Truman's announcement of the Nagasaki bomb was excerpted to emphasize this aspect:

> 'Having found the bomb, we have used it. We have used it against those who attacked without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war. We have used it in order to shorten the agony of war.' [58](emphasis added)

Interestingly, this passage illustrates a theme rare in *The New York Times*, but more common in *Time*. The United States seems to have stumbled across atomic power, hence the use of "found." In most cases, Truman and *The New York Times* both stressed the achievement of the United States and her people in developing the bomb. By August 9, the date of this release, denunciations of our use of the bomb were beginning to arrive, and be published. Whether Truman's wording was a reaction to public opinion or simply a speechwriting slip, it provides an interesting view of the political speech process.

FEAR OF THE BOMB

The fear and worry aspects of atomic power appeared almost immediately, but were generally expressed by printing letters to the editor or by quoting the source. The first negative reaction came on August 8, from the unofficial Vatican newspaper

Osservatorio Romano.[59] On August 8, the Protestant Council of New York was quoted as having said atomic energy had "brought America to a crisis, especially for organized religion."[60] Stronger statements began to appear regularly by August 9, and were being grouped together in single articles by August 10.[61],[62]

All of these and similar reactions were directly quoted. *The New York Times* did not make approbatory statements directly, at least in the first week after Hiroshima. The editorials did tend toward awe and the mixed attitudes of the rest of the text, but did not criticize the bomb.

A SPLIT DECISION

The split-decision attitude was more pronounced in *Time*, but it was definitely present in *The New York Times.* In *Time*, many sentences and paragraphs questioned whether the bomb was a good, hopeful or a bad, terrifying achievement. In *The New York Times*, because more room and more reporters were available, the split decision was more evident on reading whole issues. Not until August 12 were mixed feelings explicitly expressed. Although the August 11 issue grouped letters under the heading, "Bomb Stirs Mixed Feelings,"[63] the divided mind of the public and the writers was generally revealed early on only by grouping the headlines together. For example, "Early Use of Atom as Fuel Predicted"[64] and "Atomic Plane Engine Distant, Scientists Say,"[65] appeared only pages apart on August 8.

Later, "Dawn of the Atom Era Perplexes Washington"[66] and "What the Atomic Bomb Means—A Digest of Opinion"[67] appeared in a Sunday section devoted to an "Epochal Week for War and Peace," as *The New York Times* formally recognized the indecision.

"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT"

One of the most noticeable features of *The New York Times'* atomic coverage was its completeness. Details of corporations involved in the atomic production plants showed up on business pages, biographies of all the major and some minor figures appeared almost daily, and articles enumerated the sabotage attempts in the United States and gloated over the success of American security.

In all of the hundreds of inches of coverage, the issue of radioactivity only reared its head twice. A Science Service-authored article noted that "radioactive poisons" were produced by the process, but the point of the short column was that the Allies feared German use of the poisons in gas bombs.[68] Attention was diverted from the radioactivity with this fear appeal, whether intentionally or not.

The second piece was even more interesting. Titled "70-Year Effect of Bombs Denied," the article began with a disclaimer by J. Robert Oppenheimer, whom, it was explained, the War Department asked to make a statement. Oppenheimer said there was "no reason to believe that the explosion left any appreciable radioactivity on the ground." It was further noted that a simultaneous War Department statement agreed. Finally, the article explained that Dr. Harold Jacobson, a "minor official" with the Manhattan Engineer District, wished to clarify a previous story published elsewhere. In the first piece, Jacobson said that "killing radiation" could be left on the ground of the two Japanese cities for up to 70 years.[69]

In this article, Jacobson, after extensive interviews with War Department officials, was said to have issued a five-point statement. It was made clear that he was, indeed, a minor official, that his 70-year statement was his opinion, not based on "confidential information," that "eminent scientists" did not agree with his assessment, and that he was "surprised and pleased" to learn that the New Mexico test left behind "little radiation." But the most telling statement was the fifth, in which he said the manufacturing process in the United States had been carefully planned "to protect the workers."[70]

This is important because his original statement said nothing about workers or the manufacturing process. Whether this was a coerced addition or Dr. Jacobson's idea is a matter for speculation.

PROPAGANDA

The New York Times reported the texts of many Japanese statements in response to the bomb, beginning on August 7 with the information that Osaka radio was keeping the true nature of the bombing from its listeners.[71] An August 8 update reported that Japan's English agency, Domei, which beamed messages to the United States, reported a Japanese cabinet meeting. The meeting resulted in a report on the "'wanton attack'" with "'a new type of bomb.'"[72] Later reports interpreted less and quoted more. One might have expected to find that *The New York Times* had belittled Japanese statements as propaganda, and they did, but much less often and more subtly than might have been the case.

For example, another August 8 article, after giving some text from radio broadcasts of domestic Japanese radio and Domei, said, "Domestic radio was comparatively sober, but Domei made unrestrained accusations." This was followed by a lengthy quotation in which the United States was branded "'a destroyer of justice and mankind'" and "'public enemy number one of social justice.'"[73]

On August 9, a description of Hiroshima gleaned from Tokyo radio was described as having "asserted that 'practically all living things, human and animal, were literally seared to death.'" Several inches down the article was the subhead "A Propaganda Front," under which the author said Japan was "apparently ... trying to establish a propaganda point that the bombings should be stopped." This was followed by extensive quotations, among which was the assertion that the United States had violated the Hague Convention of 1917. The newspaper immediately followed this claim with an excerpt from "the relevant portion" of that Convention and pointed out that Japan was not a party to it. The story ended with a paragraph noting that "the announcer used the French 'villes demilitarises' (open towns), although Nagasaki is a quartermaster depot and a garrison town of considerable military importance."[74]

This was the most obvious attempt to disclaim the Japanese assertions, although the statements were frequently reproduced.

TO THE EDITOR...

The first letter to the editor on the subject of the bomb appeared on August 9. Dated August 7, it was a thoughtful reaction to the news.

> The now man-harnessed terrific power of atomic energy poses for human beings the greatest of moral choices they have ever had to face—between educating themselves for doing good or allowing their latent bestial passions to bring total catastrophes upon themselves.
>
> ...May intelligence, warm sympathy and affection guide us safely through a future pregnant with possibilities for much good or for evil more hellish than any yet known.
>
> A. Garcia Diaz[75]

On the same day, reader Robert Harrow called for extensive powers for the fledgling United Nations as a preventive measure for these "hellish evils."[76]

Future letters echoed these sentiments and elaborated. Mary E. Koleogon asked whether the $2 billion investment might have been better spent on research,[77] taking as an example the new Sloan-Kettering Cancer Research Center announced earlier in the week.[78] Cristobal Acomponado protested the dropping of the bomb on Hirsoshima, "because—well, Tokyo, where the Emperor and the top-ranking government officials reside, was not bombed also."[79]

On August 11th, several letters were strung together to form a theme.

> "It is a stain upon our national life....When the exhilaration of this wonderful discovery has passed we will think with shame of the first use to which it was put."
>
> "It is simply mass murder, sheer terrorism on the greatest scale the world has ever seen."
>
> "Man is too frail a being to be entrusted with such power...." [80]

These were followed by two dissenters, one of whom said he felt that the atomic bomb was good because it would ensure peace, the other merely advocating careful handling of the potentially dangerous materials during production.[81]

The letters run by *The New York Times* represented the entire range of opinion on the subject, but the newspaper printed gloom-and-doom letters slightly more frequently than neutral and pro-atomic power letters. This may have reflected the ratio of incoming mail, it may have been the editors' perception of a synopsis of public opinion, or it may have been the editors' perception of the way people ought to have felt.

FROM THE EDITOR

Editorial opinion certainly seemed divided, based on what made the editorial page. The power-of-the-bomb aspect was largely missing, except as a passing reference, and the opposing hopeful and terrifying implications of atomic energy were highlighted.

On August 7, "Heard Round the World" held that the implications of the bomb "for good or evil are so tremendous in so many directions that it will take months before our minds can really begin to envisage them" and went on to enumerate all of the evils that must be eradicated to steer the world to the good side of the equation.[82] "Science and the Bomb" explained the basis of the reaction and emphasized the effect upon atomic scientists, who had "something to think about."[83]

The remaining August 7 editorial sounded a rare chord of militant retribution. No other editorial reviewed was anything but sober; many were philosophical. But "Our Answer to Japan" was a condemnation of Japan's "contemptuous rejection" of Potsdam. The bomb was "the decisive 'secret weapon', the magic key to victory","ready to be hurled against our enemies."

The tone did not let up for half a column. It is unmatched anywhere in future editorials for pure vitriol, but an August 12 piece seemed an echo, if somewhat faint. But the piece returns quickly to the mixed-blessing theme.

> By their own cruelty and treachery, our enemies had invited the worst we could do to them. Even so no one could fail to realize that by this invention and this act, humanity had been brought face to face with the most awful crisis in its recorded history. Here the long pilgrimage of man on earth turns toward darkness or toward light.[84]

The editorial pages lost interest in the bomb in the intervening days, focusing instead on the upcoming trials at Nürnberg and in France (the court-martial of Pétain), the surrender of Japan, and the New York mayoral race.

COLUMNS

Two columnists for *The New York Times*, Hanson W. Baldwin and Anne O'Hare McCormick, were consistently philosophical about the bomb, although McCormick seemed a little more down-to-earth than the sometimes bombastic Baldwin.

McCormick tackled the bomb on August 8 and 13. On the 8th, she quoted Churchill and repeated the themes emerging in the whole newspaper. She expressed awe at the power of the bomb and followed up with a vote of confidence in the responsible behavior of our leaders.[85] In so writing, McCormick stayed right in line with the rest of the coverage in *The New York Times.*

Her August 13 column was more interesting. "The American Mood on the Eve of Victory" described the reactions of "groups reading the news bulletins in Times Square....in restaurants, buses, loitering on the streets." According to McCormick, it was solemn, serious, sober. "The sense of victory is weighted with gravity, and an extraordinarily wide-spread sense of the problems of war leaves behind [sic]."[86]

In his August 7 piece, "The Atomic Weapon,"[87] Baldwin emphasized the hatred and retribution the United States may have brought upon itself by using the bomb (quoted above). On August 8, he pondered "The New Face of War."

> The new face of war was still veiled yesterday in the death pall above Hiroshima, but its features were chaos.
>
> The atomic-energy bomb that fell on the Japanese homeland blasted immediately not only the enemy, but also many of our previously conceived military values.[88]

Baldwin went on to ask whether armies were now obsolete, whether man would be forced to retreat underground, and whether the bomb would reduce the frequency of war. He came to several conclusions: The bomb might not be enough to defeat Japan alone; it was too difficult to make to use daily; underground structures might or might not be safe; dispersed armies would not be useful targets for the bomb; America should not abandon her armies yet; and "In all post-war military planning, A-1 priority must be given to Research, Development, and Production—each with capitals."

Finally, on August 13, Baldwin tackled the theme he had introduced earlier, and urged a complete review of our war-making capabilities, from electronics to aerodynamics.[89]

THE NEW YORK TIMES -- SUMMARY

The New York Times provided its traditional, well-respected full coverage on the occasion of the atomic bomb, almost to the point of becoming fragmented. Several themes emerged.

The most common motif was the sense of awe at the sheer power that had been unleashed. Even a war-jaded press could appreciate the magnitude of the accomplishment. Their understanding was no doubt nudged by the flurry of activity at OC, the War Department and OWI. If they needed an extra shove, statements from

Truman, Churchill, and Attlee provided just the expected balance of impressed thoughtfulness and certainty of victory.

In fact, these statements set the tone for all of the coverage, in their own way. Each remarked on the power of the bomb, then followed with assurances that care was being taken to guard the secret, and mentioned briefly the race with Germany for atomic power. *The New York Times* coverage used this as a springboard, but the basic themes are as apparent in the newspaper as in the texts of the statements.

The "responsible Western leaders" theme probably reassured the readers as well as the writers, who reverted to it repeatedly. As the knowledge dawned on Americans that they could be next, city papers nationwide printed maps of how far the destruction from a given number of bombs placed just so would go, if they were dropped on the hometown.[90] In this atmosphere, most Americans must have been prepared to cling to any small reassurance. There was no way to recall the bomb, but there might be a way to keep it out of "enemy" hands or to avert war altogether. Either alternative was predicated on leaders of the atomic alliance being responsible, responsive and careful.

This tone was strangely contrasted with something that did not appear in the leaders' official statements: The whole endeavor was played as an enormous, and enormously important, adventure. The language was often full blown, the pace often breathless.

Taken as a whole, the coverage had one overriding quality. *The New York Times* could not or would not decide whether the bomb was a boon or a bane to America and to mankind. Every wavelength in the spectrum of political theory was represented in the attempt to answer these and other questions. The entire range of emotion, of thought, of hope and of despair was played out in stories purporting to be hard news.

By the August 11, atomic news had slowed considerably to only a few articles per issue, having given way to speculation and then jubilation about the Japanese surrender.

An additional focus emerged: There was increasing discussion of what to do with the bomb, now that it was here to stay.

TIME

Because *Time* was issued on August 6, there was some lag time before the first issue to contain atomic coverage appeared on August 13.

Time focused heavily on the adventurous aspects of the race for development and the unraveling of scientific "secrets"; on the drama of the tests and the bombing runs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and on the responsible manner in which Western leaders were handling the new force. Other notable themes were the power of the atom and the awe that it engendered as well as the split personality of the discovery—terrifying and promising.

ADVENTURE STORY

All August issues heavily stressed the adventure and high drama of the race for atomic energy. "Birth of an Era" told of the Norwegian "commandos" who destroyed the German heavy water plant in Norway—"The race of the laboratories began."[91] The Science section, "Atom Smasher," read like an adventure novel through and through, beginning with a comparison of the atomic bomb with previous explosive capabilities and stressing "the basic power of the universe" repeatedly. The first atomic test at Alamo Gordo, New Mexico was described.

> Thunder & lighting rumbled and flashed in the early morning of July 16 when the final test was to be made. ... Over five miles away, the scientists lay flat, listening breathlessly to the time signals ... and the watchers lived the tensest seconds of their lives.[92]

By the next issue, a week later, the world and the press had digested the implications of the bomb a little more thorougly, and death, fear and mixed feelings began to emerge. However, the articles were still laced with drama if not melodrama, particularly the mission of the *Enola Gay*.

> The run was short and straight. At 9:15 a.m. Major Thomas Ferebee pressed the toggle and the single bomb was away, down through the stratosphere. ...[T]en pairs of eyes strained at the plexiglass windows as [pilot Paul W.] Tibbets turned the plane broadside to Hiroshima. It took less than 60 seconds. Then the brilliant morning sunlight was slashed by a more billiant white flash.
>
> The first atomic bomb had been dropped.[93]

This sequence of events was recounted several different times, and in several different ways, as was the run of *Great Artiste* over Nagasaki three days later.

The actual bomb drops were not the only dramas recounted. The "Technology" subhead of a new section called "The Atomic Age" (inaugurated August 20) described "the most fantastic and meaningful story to come out of the war."[94] In it the "strange apparatus glowed and hummed"[95] in guarded laboratories, the physicists "shuddered" at their calculations as they explored "unknown territory; anything might happen."[96]

Readers could easily get caught up in the "race of the laboratories."[97] Statements like "The Nazis might be ahead in the race for Doomsday"[98] added to the novelesque atmosphere. "It was a dark and stormy night ..." might have been appended to almost any of these stories. Putting down the magazine may have been like putting down a good thriller—one felt a little shivery, but not in any real danger.

ATOM SPLITS MAN

As the danger became a fixture in the real world, however, *Time*'s tone changed slightly. Beginning August 20, Time heavily emphasized the dual nature of the discovery. The first article of that date, "The Bomb" in the section "The Nation," stated that "all thoughts and things were split." Almost every paragraph elaborated on the idea.

> Even as men saluted the greatest and most grimly Pyrrhic of victories in all the gratitude and good spirit they could muster, they recognized that the discovery which had done most to end the worst of wars might also, quite conceivably, end all wars—if only man could learn its control and use.
>
> The promise of good and evil alike bordered on the infinite.[99]

"Atomic Age" carried the subhead "A Strange Place," which referred repeatedly to the mythical Prometheus, whose liver was sacrificed to provide man with fire.[100] The new age was "rich with hope, terrible with strange dangers."[101]

DEARTH OF DEATH

In "A Strange Place" was the first mention of death. While the Atomic Age might turn out to be "wonderful," "at first, it was a strange place, full of weird symbols and the smell of death."[102] Death, however, was strangely absent from the *Time* coverage. Although it was estimated by August 11 that many tens of thousands had died,[103] *Time* followed an August 20 description of the Hiroshima blast on the ground and the carnage in the streets with dry statistics about damage and the abstract "How many tens of thousands of Hiroshima's people had perished was not yet and might never be known."[104] These were the only two references to death in the entire month.

In the August 13 eye witness description, a "Jap" corporal was quoted verbatim. The question of whether this was a device to downplay his remarks was answered by a September 17 piece reporting that "The first trustworthy account of aftereffects of the atom bomb came from a Dutch surgeon."[105] This came after the first month of coverage, and after a September 3 piece with a second "Jap" version, which gave numbers of dead and causes of death.

LEADERSHIP

After the adventure and drama themes, the next most noticeable was the trustworthy nature of the Western leaders, particularly Truman and Churchill. On August 13, *Time* stressed Truman's understanding of the implications and his "prompt" attention to Congressional cooperation in exercising government control and the study of means to make atomic power "'a powerful ... influence towards the maintenance of world peace'" was duly recorded[106].

A partial text of the President's August 8 speech was excerpted to repeatedly touch on Truman's careful, trustworthy approach to the situation.

> "I realize the tragic significance of the atomic bomb.
> "Its production and its use were not lightly undertaken by this Government....
> "The atomic bomb is too dangerous to be loose in a lawless world. That is why Great Britain, Canada, and the United States ... do not intend to reveal [the] secret.
> "It is an awful responsibility which has come to us."[107]

The "secret" of atomic force seemed to have been dropped into the laps of world leaders accidentally, through no affirmative action of their own, and *Time* reported their masterful response.

OTHER REACTIONS

Minor themes were similarly schizophrenic. Tone ranged from self-congratulatory to making excuses to "it's not our fault at all." The first article, for example, reported excerpts from Truman's original announcement.

> "Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped on bomb on Hiroshima, an important Japanese army base. That bomb had more power that 20,000 tons of TNT. ...It is an atomic bomb. It is a harnessing of the basic power of the universe. ...What has been done is the greatest achievement of organized science in history."[108]

The Science section continued with descriptions of the "host of famed scientists ... bigwigs"[109] and the like involved in the effort. By August 20, every American scientist named was "brilliant," "great," "foremost" in his field.[110] German scientists, who did the groundwork in the 1930s and early 1940s, were unnamed, unless they had fled Germany, in which case they were "distinguished."[111,112]

In the excuses department were numerous references to German plans for atomic weapons, from Truman's speeches to Churchill's, as well as in simple declarations by the reporters or editors. In addition to the reference to Truman sailing homeward, phrases like "the U.S. ... had been given"[113] and "to the U.S. had come"[114] atomic power reinforced the motif of atomic power as a gift, and not necessarily an expected one.

TIME -- SUMMARY

The insistence that British and American leaders, the ones in control of the atomic bomb, were competent, careful and caring dovetails with the almost surreal descriptions of the bomb itself. Readers were not forced to believe in atomic power—they were encouraged to think of it as a fairy tale or epic novel. But if readers insisted upon being impressed with the awesome new force, they were reminded that it might turn out to be good. To prove that this really was possible, that they really need not be too terribly afraid, evidence was ample that the men in charge had the best interests of Americans at heart and were that they thoroughly capable not only of furthering those interests, but of keeping the atom out of the hands of less beneficent powers.

CONCLUSION

Time and *The New York Times* covered the atomic bomb in ways appropriate to their reputations. The magazine format allowed *Time* more glowing prose and more illustrative material. *The New York Times*, true to its motto, filled its pages with information of all shapes and sizes. Yet the two were surprisingly similar in their choice of major themes.

The "terrible" new weapon must have aroused awe in most of the readership. *Time* and *The New York Times* faithfully reproduced this feeling in their copy, building on it in even the most casually related pieces. They expressed their own awe and recounted that of others. Most importantly, they must have proved empathetic with the similarly amazed readers.

Both publications stressed a sense of adventure. The atomic bomb was, after all, one of the greatest achievements in scientific history, dearly bought and kept. The logistics alone boggle the imagination. The science was unbelievable, the secrecy incredible in an open society. And it had, indeed, been a race with Germany. This was the stuff of fiction, and the stuff of dreams for copywriters and editors alike. In both publications, no advantage was squandered—the drama received full play.

Truman, Attlee, and Churchill received no less. Though Truman only made three or four statements and Churchill and Attlee one each during the period reviewed, each was quoted extensively. Their texts emphasized some of the points the publications subsequently highlighted, and *Time* and *The New York Times* used them to illustrate points for the next few issues. Most quotations underscored how much thought was being given the new force, what steps were being taken to protect the Allies and the world, except Japan, from it, and what a good thing it was that these capable, good men had beaten Hitler to it.

CONVERGING COVERAGE

In short, *Time*'s coverage of the bomb mirrored that of *The New York Times*, though perhaps it was a funhouse mirror. *Time* played up the adventure, *The New York Times* emphasized the responsibility of world leaders. Because of the delay in publishing

Time, *The New York Times* also presented a more graphic description of the power of the bomb, *Time* a more vivid account of the bombing raid.

In a moment of confusion, America was aswirl with conflicting emotions and opinions and an endless thirst for more information to help resolve them. The motifs that emerged from this study seem like reasonable reactions to the most tremendous force ever seen: awe, relief at the end of the war, an excited sense of adventure, great fear, and a hopeful trust in the men who were running things.

The New York Times had less time to digest these reactions, and so presented a characteristic flood of facts and opinions. *Time* had greater leisure and did try to make some sense. But the same conclusions were inevitable: This was an earth-shaking event of which people everywhere had every right to be terrified.

Perhaps in unconscious reaction to that fear, most of the coverage seemed to have one of two effects: The sense of high drama in many pieces made the threat less real, more of a storybook affair than something that was happening in real life; but when it was clear that this was indeed reality, reassurance in American and British leaders was quick to appear. In fact, even laying aside major themes outlined above, almost every story fell into one of two categories. Some emphasized great danger from the bomb and others rationalized a way to avoid being afraid of the danger. More commonly, both were combined in single articles, even single sentences.

At the cusp of what was quickly dubbed the Atomic Age, whatever that meant and was to mean, Americans were excited and afraid. Their press reflected their grim elation.

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[2] John H. Crider, "War Cost Us 251,000 Dead Plus; Outlay to Date $300,000,000,000," The New York Times, 11 August 1945, p. 7(L).

[3] Leslie R. Groves, Now it Can be Told (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), 264.

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[5] "Texts of War Statements," The New York Times, 7 August 1945, p. 4(L).

[6] George H. Gallup. The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971 (New York: Random House, 1972), 535.

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[8] Paul S. Boyer. By The Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 52.

[9] Patrick S. Washburn. "The Office of Censorship's Attempt to Control Press Coverage of the Atomic Bomb During World War II". Journalism Monographs 120 (April 1990). Many examples of journalists who knew about atomic power are given throughout this work.

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[12] Lansing Lamont, Day of Trinity (New York: Atheneum, 1965), 12.

[13] Groves, Now It Can Be Told, 7.

[14] Ibid., 10.

[15] Ibid., ix.

[16] Lamont, Day of Trinity, 31.

[17] Groves, Now It Can Be Told, 99.

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[20] Ibid., 16.

[21] Ibid., 111.

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[25] Ibid., 7.

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[29] Lewis Wood, "Steel Tower 'Vaporized' in Trial of Mighty Bomb," The New York Times, p. 1(L), "Test Bomb Created Half-Mile Crater," The New York Times, 10 August 1945, p. 3(L).

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[48] Lewis Wood, "Steel Tower 'Vaporized'," 1(L).

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[50] Shalett, "New Age Ushered," 1(L).

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[52] "Secret War Nipped Reich Cosmic Bomb," The New York Times, 10 August 2945, p. 5(L).

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[90] Boyer, Bomb's Early Light, 14.

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[93] "My God!" Time 46(8) (20 August 1945): 26-7.

[94] "Manhattan District." Time 46(8) (20 August 1945): 32.

[95] Ibid., 32.

[96] Ibid., 35.

[97] "Birth of an Era." 17.

[98] "Manhattan District." 35.

[99] "The Bomb." Time 46(7) (13 August 1945): 17.

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[100] "A Strange Place." *Time* 46(8) (20 August 1945): 29.

[101] Ibid., 29.

[102] Ibid., 19.

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[104] "Under a Pall." *Time* 46(8) (20 August 1945): 28.

[105] "Atomic Wounds." *Time* 46(12) (17 September 1945): 52.

[106] Ibid., 17.

[107] "'Awful Responsibility'." *Time* 46(8) (20 August 1945): 29.

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[110] "Atom Smasher." 66 (Lawrence), 67 (Oppenheimer). ; "Origins." *Time* 46(8) (20 August 1945): 31 (Fermi, Bohr). ; "Manhattan District." 35 (Compton, Fermi).

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[112] "Reich Exile Emerges Heroine," 1(L).

[113] "Birth of an Era." 17.

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SUN YAT-SEN, THE PRESS, AND THE 1911 CHINESE REVOLUTION

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Submitted for presentation at the Annual Meeting of American Journalism Historians Association, Salt Lake City, October, 1993.

Student Paper

SUN YAT-SEN, THE PRESS, AND THE 1911 CHINESE REVOLUTION

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the mass media and propaganda activities of Sun Yat-sen, the "Father of Chinese Revolution" and the president of the first republic government in Asia, prior to 1912.

By examining the primary and secondary sources both in Chinese and English language, the paper provides political, social, and media environment at the early twentieth century in China, and documents Sun Yat-sen's ideas and experiences of media and propaganda in promoting social revolution. His leadership in the party press, fund raising, political debates, and his public speech and writing are analyzed.

It is concluded that Sun Yat-sen's media/propaganda activities greatly contributed to the success of the 1911 Chinese Revolution. The revolutionary press helped define and execute Sun's revolutionary goals, and functioned as the builder of a new nation.

Paper submitted for presentation at the Annual Meeting of American Journalism Historians Association, Salt Lake City, October 1993.

SUN YAT-SEN, THE PRESS, AND THE 1911 CHINESE REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

The modern mass media have been used as an effective tool for social changes in both the East and West. In revolutionary situations when radical social transformations took place, the mass media usually played a more important role in the societies. This was the case of the 1911 Chinese revolution, in which the 268-year-long Qing Empire was overthrown and the first republic government in Asia was established under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The Chinese experience early in this century provides interesting historical evidence of the mass media's role in the process of radical social changes.

Sun Yat-sen (1866-1924), the first president of the Republic of China, was considered as the "Father of Chinese Revolution." He was the first professional revolutionary in China, a moving spirit of Chinese revolution who was dedicated to organization, fund-raising, and propaganda overseas prior to 1912. Sun was not a journalist but an effective propagandist actively involved in many mass media activities. Through his struggle against the rulers of Qing Dynasty, he won support from educated youth, intellectuals, and overseas Chinese and attracted gifted journalists, writers, and publicists to his camp. He helped establish a media network for his revolutionary party in Chinese coast cities and abroad. His communication strategies and persuasive skills facilitated this revolutionary process.

There is few English literature on Sun Yat-sen's mass media experience during the 1911 Chinese revolution. While Sun Yat-sen's political theory and personal life have been extensively and intensively studies in Chinese literature, close investigations on his use of modern press and interpersonal communication and its impact on the 1911 Chinese revolution are rarely found. This paper focuses on this important topic. By examining the primary and secondary sources both in English and Chinese on this topic, the author attempts to provide a general picture of Sun Yat-sen's communication strategies and media/ propaganda activities before 1912 and their impact on the Chinese revolution. The political, social, and media environments which conditioned Sun Yat-sen's political and communication activities in the early twenty-century's China are studied, and the implications of Sun Yat-sen's press experience for our understanding of the role of mass media in revolution are discussed.

SUN YAT-SEN AND HIS TIME

Sun Yat-sen's youth, late in the last century, was characterized by national humiliation. The long list of unequal treaties between the Qing government and foreign powers, the continuing peasant rebellions, and the lack of vigor in domestic administration testify to the Qing's utter inability to defend China in the modern world (Hsu, 1975).

Anti-Qing (Manchu) minority sentiment from the Han nationality never disappeared throughout the 268-year dynasty. In the early Qing period, Chinese thinkers, such as Gu Yenwu and Wang Fuzhi, ceaselessly promoted the anti-Qing idea. Although dissident activities did not result in an outright overthrow of the regime, the germ of revolution was kept alive in underground organizations and secret societies. Sun's early revolution was very much in this tradition of opposition to the Qing's rule.

The great revolutions of the modern West--the Glorious Revolution in England and the American and French revolutions--all exerted a profound influence upon Chinese intellectuals, especially overseas students (Cheng, 1989). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, nationalism, democracy, and republicanism became the motivating forces for revolutionary change in China (Cheng, 1989).

After its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, China faced a serious crisis: What could she do to achieve national salvation in the face of accelerating foreign imperialism and dynastic decline? Two major political movements developed, each representing a different approach to the problem. One was the progressive reform of 1898, led by reformist intellectual Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. The other was a revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen, who advocated the complete overthrow of the Qing regime. At first, the progressive reformers played the more prominent role. But as the Qing regime declined, the revolutionaries gained increasing support from younger intellectuals, secret societies, overseas Chinese communities, and soldiers and officers in the government New Army (Hsu, 1975).

Sun Yat-sen was born in Xianshan, near Canton, of peasant parentage. At 13 he went to Honolulu to join his brother who had built a prosperous business in Hawaii. He remained there for five years and completed his high school courses. He then went to Hong Kong and receives five years of Western medical training in Hong Kong's College of Medicine during 1887-92. Since then he began medical practice in Macao and Canton (Schiffrin, 1968).

Hawaii and Hong Kong had a strong influence on Sun Yat-sen during the formative period of his life. His deep concern for the fate of China led him to become politically active. Western-style learning developed his strong anti-Qing revolutionary mentality. He was also convinced that it was insufficient to merely overthrow the Qing regime and establish a republic; it was imperative to instill in the people a strong sense of nationalism with which to reconstruct the country and preserve their independence (Sharman, 1968).

In 1894, Sun went to north China and petitioned Qing viceroy, Li Hong-zhang, for a reform program. Failing to see Li, Sun returned to his previous revolutionary position and in the fall of 1894 went to Hawaii to organize the first revolutionary body, Xing Zhong Hui (Revive China Society) on November 24, 1894. Three months later, he established the headquarters for this organization in Hong Kong and in October 1894, organized the first revolt. After its failure in the same year, he fled to

Japan and then traveled to England to seek support.

On October 22, 1896, as an exile with a price on his head, Sun was kidnapped on the street and carried off to the Chinese legation in London, where he was kept hidden for 12 days to be sent back to China for execution. Thanks to the intervention of his former teacher, Dr. James Cantlie, and the London press's coverage of his kidnapping, British authorities pressured the legation to release him. This incident, and his subsequent Kidnapped in London (1897), gave him fame among revolutionaries.

From 1896 to 1900, Sun studied in London and based his activity in Japan. But he was not well received among overseas Chinese and his anti-Qing program lacked concrete success.

After the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, Sun's image changed dramatically. The mismanagement of the Qing court during the Boxer catastrophe led many Chinese at home and abroad to look upon him with favor. He was no longer regarded as a rebel or an outlaw, but rather as a high-minded, patriotic revolutionary working for the betterment of his country and people.

During 1902-1905, Sun traveled widely in Vietnam, Japan, Hawaii, and the United States rallying support for his cause. On August 20, 1905, Zhong Guo Tong Meng Hui (Chinese United League), China's first multiprovincial revolutionary party, was established in Tokyo and Sun, then 37, was elected chairman. Sun's four goals were adopted--"expulsion of the Manchus, restoration of Chinese rule, the establishment of a republic, and equalization of land rights." Having already enrolled several hundred students representing almost every province in China, the party planned to create branches throughout the mainland (Hsu, 1975).

The founding of the Chinese United League changed the Chinese revolution and Sun's personal life. Geographically, the League shifted revolutionary activity from treaty ports and overseas communities to the heart of China and returned students acted as revolutionary agitators and leaders. Sun no longer organized revolts just on the periphery of Chinese society. He had moved into the "main stream of Chinese nationalism" (Schiffrin, 1968, p.9).

Between 1905 and 1911, Sun made frequent journeys abroad promoting his ideas, recruiting followers, and raising funds for the undertaking. Under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xin, one revolt followed another between 1906 and 1911--six times in Guangdong and once in Guangxi and Yunnan (Franke, 1970, p.71). The quick success of the military uprising in Wuchang in central China in October 1911 was indeed "providential" as Sun later recalled. What was most encouraging was the rapid succession of declarations of independence by the provinces and important municipalities. Within a month and a half, fifteen provinces, or two-thirds of all China, seceded from the Qing dynasty.

REFORM AND REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

Chinese modern media advocating political reform began with the daily Xunhuan Ribao in Hong Kong in the 1870s. The reform movement demonstrated the power of the newspaper, especially when written by well-known reformist and journalist, Liang Qichao. With his political journals, Shiwubao in 1897, Qingyibao in 1899-1900, and Xinmin Congbao (New People's Journal) in 1901-1905, Liang was very successful in modern journalism and had a profound impact on Chinese intellectuals on the mainland and abroad. Sun Yat-sen possibly learned a lesson from him and realized the potential of magazines and newspapers for promoting revolution (Sharman, 1968).

The revolutionary press started with Zhongguo Ribao (China Daily) in Hong Kong in 1899. After 1900, revolutionary periodicals appeared in the treaty ports and abroad. Among those were Chinese student publications in Japan, such as Guominbao (Citizen's Tribune), Ershijinwen (Russian Affairs Alarm), and Xinhunan (New Hunan). Some journals catered to student provincial groups and contained many translations from Japanese. Most magazines did not last more than several months, but issues were frequently reprinted. Not all student journals were overtly revolutionary, but the focus on modern ideas and current events stimulated radical thinking. Thousands of these journals preaching revolution as well as those urging reform were smuggled into mainland China (Schiffrin, 1980).

Overseas agitators were in close touch with intellectuals in Shanghai. Beginning in 1895 dozens of periodicals and newspapers appeared in Shanghai, the hub of the new publishing industry. One of the most famous papers promoting revolution in 1903 was

Subao edited by Zhang Taiyen, a famous scholar. This paper attacked the Qing rulers, including the emperor, and praised The Revolutionary Army published in May 1903, the most famous revolutionary tract in Chinese history (Schiffrin, 1980). The writer was Zou Rong, an 18-year-old student who had returned from Japan. Hundreds of thousands of copies of this pamphlet reached Chinese throughout the world. At the request of Qing government, authorities of the Shanghai International Settlement banned the paper and imprisoned two writers. Zhang Taiyen, the paper's editor, was in prison for two years. Zou Rong died in jail in the Spring of 1905 (Lin, 1936).

Dozens of revolutionary pamphlets and books, including many translations, were published in both Japan and Shanghai. Birth of the publishing industry in Shanghai, flourishing of the "golden period" of the Chinese press, and proliferation of bookstores were all indicator of the change in the Chinese intellectual world after 1895 (Schiffrin, 1968). During this period, while reformers appealed to the aristocracy and published magazines in a literary style, the revolutionaries directed their voice to the widest possible audience by writing in the common speech ("bai-hua") and publishing daily newspapers (Lin, 1936). Their skillful and aggressive propaganda hastened the inevitable fall of the Qing regime.

SUN YAT-SEN'S IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES ABOUT PRESS AND PROPAGANDA

Sun Yat-sen stressed that the success of the revolution of 1911 should be attributed to the revolutionary media and propaganda (Tang, 1977). At the beginning of his revolutionary career, Sun gained media attention first by publishing his reform proposal to Qing's viceroy in a Shanghai monthly, Wanguo Gongbao (International Affair) in 1894 (Tang, 1977). From the London kidnapping incident, he further learned the power of mass media and publicity. In a letter to the London press, Sun acknowledged their share in effecting his release (Wong, 1986).

In order to complete the task of overthrowing Qing regime and building a new China, and to elevate China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations, Sun stressed that "we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle" (Sun, 1981, p.x). To him, the mass media and propaganda were the means to attain these revolutionary goals.

So, the media/propaganda activities were of the highest importance in his revolutionary undertaking. "One newspaper is worth a hundred thousand solders," he said (Tang, 1977, p.25). After 1900, to inspire people with a political ideal, and to recruit intellectuals as organizers, Sun developed a theory of revolution and used the press to promote these ideas. In 1903 he began to write articles which led to his San Min Zhu Yi (three principles of people): nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood (or social welfare) (Fairbank, 1986). Minbao (People's Daily), published in Tokyo during 1906-07, contributed greatly in advocating his original ideas of three People's Principles, which constitute a blueprint for development and modernization of China.

To Sun, mobilizing the general public to participate in revolution is the number one task for his revolutionary party. Sun said, "to reach the goal of revolution, the nine tenth of our efforts should be on propaganda and one tenth on military force" (1973, vol.3, p. 630). Therefore, "every revolutionary should be a good propagandist" (Tang, 1977, p.25).

Sun's communication strategies and press/propaganda experiences before the 1911 revolution include following aspects:

Establishing the Party's Organs and Media Network

During his early years of revolutionary career, Sun realized the importance of the press for his organization. In 1899, in order to accelerate revolutionary activities in south China and to fight off the rising influence of monarchists, Sun sent his comrade Chen Shaobo to Hong Kong to inaugurate the first revolutionary newspaper, Zhongguo Ribao (China Daily). This institute also became the headquarters of revolutionaries in Hong Kong where the paper could be smuggled into south China. Sun provided the most financial support and bought printing equipments for the daily (Feng, 1972). This newspaper became the model for Sun's revolutionary party organs. It was also among the pioneers of the modern Chinese press.

Since 1899, Sun Yat-sen helped establish revolutionary party presses in major Chinese community centers abroad. After the establishment of Zhongguo Tong Meng Hui (Chinese United League) in Tokyo in 1905, Sun and other leaders first took Twentieth Century China, a journal run by overseas Chinese students from Hunan province, as their organ. After the journal was banned by the Japanese government at the request of Qing's officials, Sun and his associates published a political opinion journal, Minbao (People's Journal), in November 1905, the most famous revolutionary organ prior to 1911.

In 1908, after the failure of the military uprising in Yunnan province in south China, Sun Yat-sen sent his associates Qu Zhen and Yang Qoufan to Rangoon, Burma to organize a revolutionary branch and publish an important party newspaper, Guanghuabao (Bright Daily) (Du, 1974b; Tang, 1977).

Prior to 1911, Sun initiated, provided financial support, wrote forewords, and helped raise funds for many revolutionary newspapers and periodicals among the overseas Chinese communities. For example, in 1907, when Zhongxing Ribao (Rising Daily) in Singapore, an important party organ in Southeast Asia, faced a financial crisis, Sun immediately provided financial and personnel support for this daily (Sun, 1973).

According to Sun, recruiting the best journalists should be among the highest priorities in revolutionary press. When famous scholar-revolutionary Zhang Taiyen was going to be released in Shanghai in 1905, Sun immediately sent his representative to invite Zhang to join the Minbao, the organ of the Chinese United League in Tokyo, as an editor. Under Zhang's editorship, Minbao grew quickly and had an enormous influence on intellectuals inside and outside China (Man, 1974).

Guiding the "Great Debate" with the Monarchists

In his introduction to the first issue of Minbao (People's Journal) on November 26, 1905, Sun Yat-sen, for the first time, used the broad terms "nationalism," "democracy," and "people's livelihood" to describe the aims included in the party membership oath. He urged that China catch up with the West by adopting nationalism and democracy "without delay" and that she surpass the West by achieving social welfare and social equality (Sun, 1974).

After the birth of the Minbao at the end of 1905, the journal engaged in heated political debates with Xinmin Congbao (New People's Journal) edited by Liang Qichao, a well-known monarchist, scholar, and journalist. Writing scholarly essays for his biweekly in Yokohama, Liang criticized the Chinese United League and tried to dampen overseas student enthusiasm for revolution (Man, 1974). Because of Liang's personal prestige among Chinese intellectuals and journalistic skill, he could not be ignored by Sun Yat-sen and his colleagues of Tong Mong Hui, a newborn revolutionary party headquartered in Tokyo.

Sun led and guided this "Great Debate." He sounded the major themes of the debate, discussed some of the details with his associates, and then let them defend the revolutionary program. Among the many writers who replied in Minbao, the most faithful supporters of Sun's ideas came from his Cantonese following: Hu Hanmin, Wang Jingwei, and Zhu Zhixin. The monarchists argued that China could achieve steadier progress by gradual evolution without any catastrophic changes, while the revolutionaries replied that driving out the Qing rulers was the only basis for opening a new era of government. Minbao's aggressive enthusiasm and combined talents overwhelmed Liang Qichao, who despite his persuasive pen and flowing style simply could not hold his ground alone.

Through this debate about China's future, the revolutionary press and the ideas of Sun Yat-sen spread widely both on the mainland and abroad. More and more young people abandoned monarchist ideas and turned to the side of revolution. Until it closed in 1908, Minbao printed as many as ten thousand copies, mostly mailed to the mainland China (Du, 1974b).

The "Great Debate" was also carried out in major overseas Chinese communities such as in Honolulu, San Francisco, Manila, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Bangkok. Sun traveled frequently among those Chinese communities guiding and even participating in regional debates. He also sent his associates to joint several important regional debates (Tang, 1977).

Contributing to the Revolutionary Press

During his life, Sun Yat-sen was a frequent contributor to the revolutionary press. In November 1903, he published a short essay titled "On the preservation or dismemberment of China" in

Jiangsu, a Tokyo-based Chinese students' Journal. Addressing Chinese readers for the first time since he had written to Qing viceroy Li Hongzhang in 1894, Sun revealed strong anti-imperialist feelings (Schiffrin, 1980).

Sun wrote widely for revolutionary press in overseas Chinese communities. For example, in 1906, he went to Singapore and participated in a heated debate between the revolutionary daily, Zhoxing Ribao, and monarchist newspaper, Huibao. His article was among the most effective in combatting the constitutional monarchists and advocating revolutionary changes in China (Feng, 1973). In 1908, when he was in Honolulu, he turned an old reformist newspaper, Tanshan Xinbao, into a radical revolutionary organ and published his well-known article, "Refuting the Empire-Protection Party," in the newspaper (Feng, 1974, p.22).

Throughout his whole life, his pen and his public speech were his primary weapons for disseminating his main revolutionary themes of nationalism, popular sovereignty, and democracy.

Public Speech

Sun Yat-sen was an effective propagandist in influencing his audience through public address. Before 1911, he was constantly travelling among the overseas Chinese communities and always kept busy by delivering speech in public gatherings. In general, his speech was straightforward and unacademic in style. But his public speech was so powerful that it was described by his fellowman as "heavy artillery fire" (Sharmen, 1968, p.271; Tang, 1977). A British observed Sun's public speaking as follows:

> "He does not care to use the dramatic eloquence which appeals to the imagination and the passions of the masses, and which is usually found in political and religious reformers of the ordinary kind. I have heard Dr. Sun addressing a meeting of his own countrymen. He spoke quietly and almost monotonously with hardly any gestures, but the intent way in which his audience listened to every word--his speeches occupy often three and four hours....showed me the powerful effect which he was able to exercise" (Sharman, 1968, p.144-45).

Sun had a dramatic sense of publicity. "It may have been his journalistic acumen... that is accountable for the often repeated description of him by journalists as dramatic," said a British historian (Sharman 1968, p.145). Many times in his life he played for public attention through the press, particularly for world-attention. When he had a chance to speak through a prestigious newspaper, he always produced good copy. He knew how to time his public expression and how to make them bold enough to attract attention (Sharman, 1968).

Sun Yat-sen was very good at using nationalistic symbols and metaphors in his speeches. One example came at the inauguration of the Chinese United League in Tokyo in 1905. After pledging their support to Sun's "Three Principles of Peoples," the 70 initiators were instructed by Sun in the secret handshake and three sets of passwords: "Chinese, Chinese things, and world affairs." Sun then shook hands with each, proclaiming happily: "From now on you are no longer subjects of the Qing dynasty!" Just as he was speaking, the wooden partition of the room fell with a bang. Sun quipped: "This symbolizes the downfall of the Manchus!"(Hsu, 1975, p.562).

On January 16, 1907, Sun Yat-sen addressed an audience of Chinese students in Tokyo on the occasion of the first birthday of Minbao (People's Journal). The speech, which attracted over 5,000 people, was on the newborn, "Three Principles of People." It brought him into such prominence that the Qing government was able to press Japan to banish him (Sharman, 1968).

Distributing Propaganda Materials

Distributing propaganda materials to promote revolution was among Sun's regular practices. Early in 1895 after the failure of his first revolt in Canton, he printed thousands of anti-Qing pamphlets and distributed them among overseas Chinese communities (Feng, 1975).

After 1900, in addition to the circulation of newspapers, Sun and his associates used anti-Qing pamphlets and small books--openly overseas, but more or less surreptitiously on the mainland. The pamphlets' and books' appeal to the literate classes was widespread. Occasionally they were copied by hand to increase their availability.

Zou Rong's Revolutionary Army was praised by Sun Yat-sen as the most powerful anti-Qing weapon. The tract contained both an emotional cry for destruction, steaming with anti-Qing racism, and a positive demand for an new political order based on Western constitutionalism and an enlightened and educated citizenry. It was published as a pamphlet in May 1903 and reprinted a number of times. In 1904, Sun reprinted 11,000 copies of the Revolutionary

Army in San Francisco and circulated them among Chinese communities in the United States and southeast Asia (Feng, 1972).

Using International Media

Before the 1911 revolution, Sun Yat-sen spent most of his time traveling abroad. One of his tasks was to solicit the support of foreign powers, in particular Japan, the United States, Britain, and France to help his revolutionary movement against the Qing regime. He contacted foreign politicians and journalists frequently, had many sympathizers, and made many friends on the foreign land (Cheng, 1986)

Sun was fully aware of the important role of international media for his revolutionary undertaking. Sun himself wrote some English publications. The first one is his booklet, Kidnapped in London, published in 1897, from which he gained an international reputation. After his release, he published a few articles in London newspapers, in which he insisted on a complete overthrow of the Qing Dynasty (Wong, 1986).

While in New York in 1904, Sun wrote another pamphlet, The True Solution of the Chinese Question. This was Sun's first appeal to the United States for help in the Chinese revolution. Repeating his contention that revolution would benefit the West as well as China, he called for "Lafayettes" in the United States to join Chinese patriots. He promised that the democracy in the United States would be the model for the new government (Cheng, 1986, p.25).

Sun was unique among early Chinese revolutionary leaders on communication strategy partly due to his Western-style educational background, extensive experience of international politics, and keen consciousness of using international media for his revolutionary purposes.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

From the examination of social, political, and media environment in the early twentieth century in China and Sun Yat-sen's ideas, strategies and activities about the press and propaganda during this period, we could clearly see the significance of the press in the 1911 Chinese Revolution. Starting with tiny secret-society and bandit gangs, Sun and his colleagues were able to incite uprisings that generally drew popular support, even including that of some Qing government troops. The public grew more contemptuous and the Qing's military less reliable. The uprising at Wuchang in October 1911 turned out differently than the previous, mainly because the whole country was more ready for revolution.

In political vision and commitment to revolution, Sun Yat-sen had gone far beyond his fellow revolutionaries. For more than 15 years, Sun's untiring efforts guided his party and supporters into a constantly growing patriotism and national consciousness. He showed his remarkable ability for media propaganda and promotion of his revolutionary ideas and plan. He attracted to his side many leaders and many patriots eager to undertake the task of carrying on the revolution. He helped set up his party's media network, developed effective organizational and communication skills, used attractive nationalist symbols and metaphors, and displayed familiarity with the latest trends in Western political thought and political process.

However, the 1911 revolution in China was basically an intellectual revolution. It proved to be only the beginning of a long process. Even fifteen years later before his death, "The work of the Revolution is not yet done, " said Sun in his last will and testament (Sun, 1981, p.i). The key weakness of the 1911 revolution was its incompleteness. Most of Sun's followers devoted themselves to the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and the establishment of the republic. Few paid real attention to the more important task of democratic reconstruction and the problem of people's livelihood. The role of the mass population was passive at that time. Politics continued to be the preserve of a small group and the great majority of the people were not concerned with the revolution and the republic. For the time being, the traditional social structure continued almost unaltered. One weakness of Sun's party media propaganda programs was the lack of a mass agitation and mobilization throughout whole country that a disciplined organization could have provided. Sun's party and his press concentrated mainly on coastal cities and overseas Chinese communities.

Despite the limitations, Sun Yat-sen's media and propaganda experiences show, to a certain extent, some basic functions of the press in social revolution. In short, the mass media provided him and his party with powerful weapons for social changes. They helped define and execute his revolutionary goals.

First, the revolutionary press helped create an image of the enemy of the revolution. Sun Yat-sen and his associates made use of the press and persistent propaganda, both oral and written, to create a bad image for the Qing regime. For example, they informed the people that Qing rulers were foreigners, playing on racial prejudice. As The Manifesto of the Tong Meng Hui (China United League) states, "the Manchus of today were originally the eastern barbarians beyond the Great Wall.... Our Chinese have been a people without a nation for 260 years" (Du, 1974a, p.79; Vohra, 1970, p.24). The image of the Qing rulers was further reinforced by coverage of the corruption and extravagance of the regime, the insincerity of its reforms, the stupidity of its dealing with foreigners, the humiliating wars it conducted, the alienation of territory, and the imposition of indemnities, etc. Therefore, the primary task of the revolution would naturally be: "Drive out the Tartars (Manchus)" (Vohra, 1970, p.24).

Second, the revolutionary press promoted the development of an identity of a new nation and community. While society requires day-by-day, minute-by-minute, confirmation of its group identity, so does any group of political and social movements. News and opinions could provide the requisite set of shared thought for activists among the different groups and movements.

The revolutionary press which Sun actively participated in had functioned as the builder of a new political community and a new nation. Sun's and his party's media/propaganda activities awakened the nationalist consciousness of the public and helped involve them in the republican nation-building process. The media portraits of Sun's "Three Principles of People" as a blueprint, especially when presented by his party as a promise of things to be brought about, gave the public great hope for the future. The "Great Debate," in fact, was reformist and revolutionary movements competing for their members. The power of revolutionary press showed, by the debate, was not only its ability to attack the opponents--Qing regime and the constitutional monarchists--but also its ability to unify the revolutionary themselves. Just as Stephens (1988) said, "The basic problems facing the propagandists in nearly every period was the unification of their own group" (p.190). In the pro-revolutionary press, the exchange of news solidified a common identity. Opinions supplied rationales and common purposes. In short, before and during the 1911 revolution, Sun's media and propaganda activities and his party press helped the educated Chinese imagine themselves no longer as citizens of the reigning dynasty, but as those of a new rising republic--the Republic of China.

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Walter M. Camp: Reporter of the Little Big Horn

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AJHA CONVENTION 1993
Oct. 6-9, 1993
Salt Lake City, Utah

Walter M. Camp: Reporter of the Little Big Horn

In the 1990s, reporters rely on advanced technology to sift through every aspect of a news event. We can watch bombs fall on Iraq, in real time; we can watch the fiery destruction of a cult leader and his followers live on CNN, as commentators matter-of-factly discuss the situation inside the Waco, Texas, compound. In 1876, technology was vastly undeveloped when news broke about Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer's stunning defeat at Little Big Horn at the hands of Sioux and Cheyenne warriors on June 25, 1876. As a result, the first detailed news account of the battle didn't appear until July 6, 1876, 11 days later, in the Bismarck, Dakota Territory, Tribune. It took another 24 hours before Eastern newspapers reported the fight on the Little Big Horn River. In getting to the scene to report action during the remaining weeks of the military campaign against the Plains Indians, reporters faced considerable obstacles, not the least of which was the untamed country in which Custer had died. That didn't stop reporters from immediately flocking to the frontier to hook up with army commands still in the field tracking the bands of Sioux and Cheyenne who had killed Custer and 260 men of the 7th U. S. Cavalry.

Easterners were stunned that such "savages" could defeat the flamboyant Civil War hero Custer who, in 1876 terms, had been a news celebrity for some 15 years. Unfortunately, for people of the time and for history, the only reporter covering Custer's regiment — Mark H. Kellogg of the Bismarck, Dakota Territory, Tribune — had died near him on the flats above the Little Big Horn. Kellogg himself was elevated to heroic stature by the New York Herald, which also claimed his services, and other newspapers. For example, the N. Y. Evening Post wrote of him:

> If it is heroic to face danger and meet death calmly in the discharge of duty, then Mark Kellogg, the correspondent of the New York Herald, who died with Custer was a hero...The brave civilian should not be forgotten while we honor the brave soldiers who fell in that great butchery on the banks of the Little Big Horn River. His courage and devotion reflect great honor upon civil life as theirs do upon the life of the soldier. His heroism is a credit to his profession as theirs is to theirs.
>
> July 11, 1876[1]

But reporters of that era failed to pursue the story as aggressively as today's reporters would. Instead, with their pens they created a broad canvass of imagined action that supported the country's need to believe that savages had brutally massacred the 7th Cavalrymen.[2] What historian Robert M. Utley referred to as the "muddled press coverage of the Sioux War of 1876" assured that the event itself would grow to epic proportions beyond its actual historical significance.[3]

In 1879, when Major Marcus A. Reno, a Custer subordinate commander, requested an army hearing to determine whether he should bear the blame for Custer's debacle, truth was held hostage to the witnesses' desire to protect their own reputations and the regiment's. As a result of the newspapers' and military's respective failures, the essential question of what happened, combined with the elusiveness of determining why it happened, assured the Little Big Horn fight and Custer himself would assume legendary status.

Yet if reporters in 1876 can be faulted for their failure to investigate the story of the Battle of Little Big Horn more thoroughly and report it more accurately, one man who followed them in the next generation dedicated himself in journalistic fashion to developing the facts of what happened and to unraveling the mysteries of Custer's last fight. He was Walter Mason Camp, a civil engineer by training and an editor for a railroad industry magazine. This paper will focus on his lifetime efforts to record a truer picture of one of the most controversial events in American military history.

A man of wide interests, which included a dairy farm at Lake Village, Ind., and a deep understanding of Indian life and customs, Camp meticulously, often on his own time, sought to record as much detail about the Little Big Horn battle and numerous other engagements of the Indian Wars as he could. Significantly, he investigated the battle by going to, or corresponding with, the still living sources, both white and Indian.

"He was a trailblazer in his zeal to record the facts of history from the people who had witnessed that history."[4]

Camp was a journalist of sorts, if not by training. In 1897, he became engineering editor of the Railway and Engineering Review (later the Railway Review), a job he held for more than 25 years. During his tenure, "he became an authority on rail construction and maintenance, and his Notes on Track became a college textbook."[5] Reportedly, he produced his weekly column without fail for more than 25 years.[6]

His knowledge impressed those who knew him. As one of them said, "He was the best informed man I ever knew."[7]

He gained his vast knowledge of the late Indian wars during summer vacations as well as during his travels for his railroad magazine. Camp sought out survivors of the battle who could shed light on the history he wished to unlock. He visited some 40 Western battlefields and interviewed 200 survivors of various battles. While his special focus remained solidly on Custer's last fight against the Sioux and Cheyenne, over the years Camp broadened his research to include many other military engagements, such as the 1868 Battle of the Washita, Ranald Mackenzie's 1876 raid on Dull Knife's village in Wyoming, Frank Baldwin's 1876 fight with Sitting Bull on Redwater Creek, Mont., the Nez Perce

Campaign of 1877, the death of Sitting Bull in 1890 and the infamous battle at Wounded Knee in 1890.

In his research, Camp relied on more than his considerable interviewing skills. Camp took voluminous notes and corresponded frequently with survivors. He set as his goal to write a book titled History of the 7th U. S. Cavalry, and later in his life he widened his intention to a history of the Indian wars. For example, in 1908, he exchanged a series of letters with John Ryan, who as first sergeant of Company M, 7th U. S. Cavalry, had survived the Little Big Horn. In a November letter to Ryan that year, Camp summarized, in straight-forward language, his purpose:

> "For five years I have been engaged at leisure times gathering matter for a history of the Little Big Horn campaign. I have the co-operation of more than thirty surviving officers and enlisted men of the 7th Cavalry…I have been on the Custer battlefield and on both of the Reno battlefields several times, and have surveyed and mapped them…I have interviewed Indians on the reservations who fought against Custer and against you fellows on the hill.

He told Ryan about his plans for a book:

> In this book the enlisted men will receive attention as well as the officers, and I am therefore calling upon all hands to assist me with information in order that the history may be as accurate as possible.[8]

In a 1917 letter to Custer's widow, Libbie, he noted that he had spent 20 years "studying the Battle of Little Big Horn, at leisure and irregular intervals, and have visited the battlefield nine different years, sometimes staying more than a week at a time."[9]

As researchers Kenneth Hammer and Dennis Rowley wrote about Camp:

> Armed with a tireless pen, an intense burning interest in the western Indian wars, an indefatigable will, and not least, a railroad pass, he quietly and doggedly established a legacy for himself and those he interviewed that will live forever in the annals of American Indian history.[10]

Camp apparently began his formal interviews of battle participants as early as 1904 and continued his efforts until at least 1920. However, most interviews were conducted between 1910 and 1914. His letter writing also began early and continued throughout his active period of research. Hammer and Rowley described Camp's methods as "simple but effective."[11]

- **First, find the desired person.**

Hammer and Rowley note that Camp was untiring in undertaking his reporting efforts. For example, on one occasion he reportedly hired a horse and wagon for a trek of many miles to interview one Indian living at Interior, S. D. In a letter to Camp, battle survivor Lt. Charles A. Varnum notes that Camp's "history of the battle and all that led up to it ought to be very perfect for you certainly have run down every clue to information on the subject very carefully...."[12]

- **Next, ask the right questions.**

Camp used a questionnaire to gather his information by mail. For example, the one he sent to Ryan in 1908 consisted of nine tightly constructed questions keyed especially to specific battle events that he expected Ryan would know about.

- **Finally, record the answers.**

Camp's voluminous papers today exist in collection form at several research sites, including Brigham Young University, Indiana University, the Denver Public Library, the University of Colorado at Boulder and Little Big Horn

Battlefield National Monument. These holdings reveal that no scrap would go unused if Camp needed to record a tidbit of information.

> He wrote in pencil and remarkably, the notes are still legible. He wrote clearly and firmly in a very readable style.[13]

Unfortunately, Camp was not lucky enough to live a long life. Soon after his last visit to the west in 1920, his health began to fail. In 1923, he retired to his Indiana farm although he continued to write for the Railway Review. Only 58 years old, he died on Aug. 3, 1925, at Kankakee, Ill. But his work has lived on after him, and what are loosely called the Camp Field Notes have proved to be an important body of research material for anyone seeking to learn about Custer's battle with the Sioux and Cheyenne as well as other Indian fights.

During his lifetime, Camp probably had little inkling of the importance of his reporting. In a 1920 speech to the Order of the Indian Wars, he described himself as merely "a student and a trail hunter."[14] Born on April 21, 1867, at Camptown, Pa., he worked early on farms and in the forests. At age 16, he became a trackwalker for the Lehigh Valley Railroad, his first job in what became a 42-year career in railroading.

In 1891, he was graduated as a civil engineer from Pennsylvania State College. In the years that followed, he worked as a surveyor in Fresno, Calif., and a draftsman in San Francisco for the Southern Pacific Railway; as a construction engineer, then superintendent of operations for the Rainier Avenue Electric Railway in Seattle; and at various positions for the Seattle Lake Shore and Eastern Railway. For a time he was a graduate student and taught electrical and steam engineering at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Finally, in 1897, he began working for the Railway Review.

Although Camp was unsuccessful in finishing his Indian wars history, the value of his work was noted by other early Custer battle researchers soon after his death. Through the efforts of such men as Robert S. Ellison, an avid collector of Western Americana and one-time chairman of the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming, Gen. William Carey Brown and George Bird Grinnell, his papers have been preserved, although, unfortunately for modern scholars, they are well scattered about the country. In 1933, Camp's widow sold a considerable portion of his material to Brown, who began laboriously sorting and classifying them at his Denver home. At one point, Brown apparently determined the materials weighed 50 pounds.[15]

Between 1933 and 1945, Brown gradually transferred the papers to Ellison, a graduate of Indiana University. Other scholars, including Charles Kuhlman, author of Legend Into History: The Custer Mystery, also used the notes. After Ellison's death in 1947, his papers, including a portion of the Camp materials, were presented to the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington. In 1967, after Mrs. Ellison's death, her will resulted in the transfer of still more material to the IU Library.

In 1968, another large segment of Camp materials was acquired by the Harold B. Lee Library at BYU, and a smaller segment went to the Denver Public Library. In the early 1970s, Dr. Ken Hammer edited the materials at BYU, some of which were published in his 1976 book, Custer in '76. Otherwise, except for individual pieces, most of Camp's notes remain unpublished.

Yet another portion of Camp notes surfaced in the mid-1980s as an indirect result of archeological projects conducted at then Custer Battlefield National Monument in Montana in 1984 and 1985.[16] What is surprising is how the ever opportunistic Brown and Ellison missed this part of the collection. After Camp's death in 1925, the Kenneth Roberts family, who had lived nearby, moved in with

Mrs. Camp to help her care for her invalid sister. In a closet were five more boxes of Camp papers, including photographs, which the sister gave to the Roberts after Mrs. Camp's death. A daughter, Naomi Roberts, whose married name was Dettmar, apparently was the only person in her family with an interest in history so she retained the boxes of notes. By coincidence, she settled in Manitou Springs, Col., where in 1944 Ellison was mayor.

"People tried to buy parts of her collection over the years, but she wouldn't sell them piecemeal," said John Husk, a geologist and amateur historian who lives near Denver and participated in the battlefield archeological projects. After Mrs. Dettmar saw Husk featured in news media accounts of the digs, she contacted him.[17] Eventually, through Husk's efforts, she donated these additional Camp materials in 1986 to the National Park Service archives at Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument.

Although the complete Camp materials are housed today at widely scattered sites, they have proved invaluable to many scholars, casual researchers and Custer battle buffs over the years. Fortunately, the major segments, including those at BYU, IU and Little Big Horn Battlefield, are well indexed. As Hammer and Rowley said,

> Amidst the controversy that has swirled around the memory of Custer and his "last stand," embroiling literally hundreds of writers and collectors, Camp's notes appear as a welcome beacon. Among the dozens of interviews, all of them valuable and irreplaceable, are many that will be of more than passing interest to scholars and collectors.[18]

Within the collections, researchers can often glean a small fact that can be enlightening on almost any aspect of the Little Big Horn battle or its personalities. For example, in a letter to Camp, typical of those in the BYU collection, Sgt. John Ryan revealed that he had prepared an extensive 650-page manuscript chronicling his 14-year military career.[19] While historians knew about the segment covering Ryan's 10 years with Custer and the 7th Cavalry because it had been published in 43 chapters between 1908-09 in his hometown newspapers in Newton, Mass., the existence of the Civil War portion was previously unconfirmed. Unfortunately, that document, which could be of significant historical value because Ryan served for three years with the legendary Irish Brigade of the Army of the Potomac, remains missing.

Often, a major issue is addressed in the Camp notes and letters. For example, in another letter to Camp, Ryan refutes oft-repeated rumors that Custer committed suicide at his last stand. Ryan, assigned as the non-commissioned officer in charge of the enlisted detail that buried Custer on the field on June 28, 1876, closely viewed the body of his slain commanding officer.

> In regard to the rumor that Custer shot himself, I do not think he ever did such a thing, nor do I believe that anybody knows who shot him. In my conversation with old Sitting Bull, he told me he did not believe any of his Indians knew who shot him, as there were so many of them firing together. Now Gen. Custer was shot in two places, one of the balls going plumb through his body from his right side to his left, another through his head, not a great distance from the ears. I cannot state the exact location to a certainty, but I do know he was shot twice. He had no other marks on him, and was not scalped.
>
> In fact, I did not see any powder marks on him, as you stated in your letter. You must recollect that those bodies had lain there a part of three days, and two nights, and of course they had turned very black.[20]

Conclusion: The Camp Field Notes constitute a significant research source not only for the Little Big Horn battle but for other engagements of the Indian Wars. As Hammer and Rowley noted,

> Camp's notes do not begin to allay all of the many controversies surrounding Custer and the Little Big Horn. In general, however, they help to lay to rest most of the questions about who was where. The significance of Camp's work will no doubt grow....[21]

That certainly seems to be the case. Ironically, magazine journalist that he was, Camp today is remembered more for his extensive historical research on the Indian wars than for his day-to-day writing. Not a book today is published about the Custer battle that does not rely to some extent on Camp's notes, either directly from the raw materials themselves or indirectly from the small segment published in Hammer's Custer in '76. Scholars who wish to study not only the Custer fight but others of lesser renown during the closing chapter of military action against Native Americans would do well to review the Camp Field Notes.

ENDNOTES

[1] New York Evening Post, July 11, 1876

[2] Historian Robert M. Utley, in his book, Custer and the Great Controversy, referred to the press coverage of the 1876 battle as "muddled." The reader is encouraged to read Utley's book for more understanding of the effects of press coverage on the Custer myth and legend.

[3] Utley, p. 14

[4] Hammer, Kenneth, ed., Custer in '76, (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), p. 2.

[5] Hammer, p. 2.

[6] Hammer, Kenneth, and Rowley, Dennis, "Custer's Man Camp, Oral Historian Without Peer," Manuscripts (Tyler, Texas, Spring 1975), Vol. XXVII, No. 2, p. 114.

[7] The Railway Review, Aug. 8, 1925, p. 197.

[8] Camp to Ryan, Nov. 19, 1908. In Camp Collection, Brigham Young University Library.

[9] Hammer, Custer, p. 3.

[10] Hammer, Rowley, pp. 112-120.

[11] Hammer, Rowley, p. 115.

[12] Varnum Correspondence, Camp Papers, Brigham Young University.

[13] Hammer, Rowley, p. 115.

[14] Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Order of Indian Wars of the United States Held January 17, 1920. Washington, D. C., 38 pp., 1920. Quoted in Hammer, Custer, p. 10.

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[15] Brown, William C., "The W. M. Camp Records of Indian War History," undated record, The Ken Hammer Collection, Box 4, Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument.

[16] In 1991, Congress passed legislation changing the name of the site, which is under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, to Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument.

[17] Interview with John Husk, March 31, 1993.

[18] Hammer, Rowley, p. 117.

[19] Ryan to Camp, Nov. 29, 1908.

[20] Ryan to Camp, Dec. 17, 1908. In 1885, Ryan interviewed Sitting Bull, when Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show played in Boston. An account of his visit later appeared in the Boston (Mass.,) Herald.

[21] Hammer, Rowley, p. 120

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Captive Audiences: Handwritten Prisoner-of-War Newspapers of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition and the War Between the States

By

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Submitted for Consideration to the
American Journalism Historians Association
Annual Convention Research Paper Competition
Salt Lake City, Utah
October 6-9, 1993

Abstract

Captive Audiences: Handwritten Prisoner-of-War Newspapers of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition and the War Between the States

This study describes and analyzes six handwritten prison camp newspapers that appeared during the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842, and the Civil War, 1861-1865: **True Blue** (1842), **The Libby Chronicle** (1863), **Right Flanker** (1863-1864), **The Old Flag** (1864), **The Corn-Dodger Advocate and Undaunted Companion** (1864?) and **The Camp Ford News** (1865).

These six papers challenge at least two common assumptions about 19th century newspapers and their communities. First, they suggest that newspapers were not, by definition, strictly *printed* artifacts, but could be published in *non-printed* forms. And second, they show that communities capable of publishing a newspaper were not just *geographically fixed entities*, like towns or cities, but included *social units* that could be geographically mobile, like soldiers, sailors, construction crews or train passengers.

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Newspapers as Non-Printed Artifacts

Historians, who insist that the newspaper is *by definition* a printed artifact, confuse a crucial distinction between two basic types of definitions: *stipulative* definitions and *lexical* definitions.[2]

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[1] Some handwritten newspapers were published aboard ships. Shipboard papers identified to date were published on California goldrush vessels, fur trading river boats (Saskatchewan, Canada), and military ships. These include the **Athabascan Journal and English River Inquirer** (SK, 1845), **The Barometer** (CA, 1849), **The Emigrant** (CA, 1849) **The Emigrant Soldiers Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle** (BC, 1858-59), **The Flying Fish** (CA, 1851), **The Illustrated Artic News** (AK, 1850-51), **The Petrel** (CA, 1849), and **The Shark** (CA, 1849). Handwritten papers were also published by other geographically mobile people using other means of transit: **The Esquimeaux** (AK, 1866-67) was a paper for members of the (unsuccessful) Alaskan-Siberian intercontinental telegraph line construction crew; **The Snowbound** (NV, 1890) was written for passengers aboard a Southern Pacific train trapped by a blizzard in the Sierra Nevada mountains near Reno.

[2] Richard Robinson, **Definition** (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 12-80.

Stipulative or working definitions impose meanings on particular terms for specific purposes (such as narrowing the scope of a study). Stipulative definitions may be very useful for those specific purposes, but they do not have historical validity. Stipulative definitions simply have no necessary connection to the vast range of past meanings previously associated with the terms to be defined . To define the term "newspaper" stipulatively, for example, is to impose a specific meaning on the term that is useful for a specific purpose, regardless of its historical validity.[3]

Lexical definitions, on the other hand, make specific historical claims: they define how people understood particular terms at specific historical moments. Dictionary definitions are often lexical, listing various meanings derived from specific historical periods. The historical validity of a lexical definition stands or falls on the strength of the historical evidence supporting it; the utility of a lexical definition rests on its historical reliability, not on its similarities with contemporary usage. To define the term "newspaper" lexically, then, is to ask how people understood and applied the term in a specific historical moment, regardless of its present-day utility.[4]

Historians may avoid the pitfall of using present-day meanings with latter-day terms, only to confuse their stipulative definitions with historically valid ones. A definition of "newspaper" that is historically valid must be a lexical one. The issue of whether some handwritten periodicals were "newspapers" must not, therefore, be settled by including or excluding them from a class of newspapers stipulatively defined, but by examining the

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3. I could stipulate, for the purposes of this paper, that my definition of "newspaper" includes only printed forms of news and thereby exclude all handwritten artifacts from consideration. I could do that, but I could not claim that my definition is universally valid or historically valid. Unfortunately, a number of journalism historians seem willing to impose their stipulative (and anachronistic) definitions of "newspaper" on the historical record without asking to what degree their definition may or may not have been applicable in the period they are studying.

4. A lexical definition of "newspaper" can only be found by studying how people actually used and understood the term at a specific historical moment. Thus, the operative question for this paper is: Did people in the 19th century consider these handwritten artifacts to be in the class of objects they commonly understood as "newspapers"? The question of whether the 19th century lexical definition is consistent with 20th century usage or not is simply, historically irrelevant.

historical record to determine if publishers and audiences considered these handwritten artifacts to be newspapers as understood at their particular historical moment.

In the case of these six handwritten publications, all the evidence suggests that they were considered newspapers by their publishers and audiences. They were explicitly called "newspapers," "papers" or "sheets."[5] Their content and style were similar to those of printed newspapers.[6] To their respective publishers and audiences, they were "real" newspapers that happened to be handwritten, not printed.

Communities as Mobile Social Units

The six handwritten prison camp newspapers examined here also challenge common assumptions about the communities necessary and sufficient to support "real" newspapers. Fledgling 19th century Western towns and villages typically witnessed the advent of their first newspapers when they had established a sufficient population, a growing economy, and a stable political system.[7] But these "critical mass" requirements[8] are more relevant to the economic necessities of a printing operation, than to a newspaper *per se*.

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[5] **True Blue** (1842) called itself a "sheet" that published "the news of the day both at home and abroad"; **The Libby Chronicle** (1863) was cited as a "newspaper" by a correspondent for the New York **Herald** (see discussion of **The Libby Chronicle** below); the **Right Flanker** (1863-64) was a weekly "sheet"; **The Old Flag** (1864) variously called itself a "paper" and "our loyal little sheet"; **The Corn-Dodger Advocate and Undaunted Companion** (1864?) called itself "a semi-occasional Newspaper"; and **The Camp Ford News** (1865) was described as a one-sheet broadside "newspaper."

[6] **True Blue** (1842) promised "to avoid all sarcastic personalities, upholding no political party nor any sectarian creed, . . . [and] to give to our readers, the news of the day both at home and abroad, together with such original miscellany as will be interesting;" **The Libby Chronicle** (1863) employed "an extensive corps of able correspondents, local reporters, poets, punsters, and witty paragraphers"; the **Right Flanker** (1863-64) was produced by an "editorial staff" that included an "agricultural department," "nautical reporter," "local item reporter," "musical contributor," and others, and regularly included summaries of news reports from the New York **Herald**, New York **Tribune** and **The Metropolitan Record**; **The Old Flag** (1864) solicited subscribers, advertisements and contributions regularly, considered itself part of "the free press," endured "the grievances common to the editors of modern papers" and eventually "died from the effects of [the editor's] patrons paying up their subscriptions"; and **The Corn-Dodger Advocate and Undaunted Companion** (1864?) promised its "Local and Foreign News, Wit and Humor, Advertisements and Correspondence" would reach "distant subscribers on time."

[7] See Barbara Cloud, "Establishing the Frontier Newspaper: A Study of Eight Western Territories," **Journalism Quarterly**, 61:4 (Winter 1984), 805-811; see also Cloud, **The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier** (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1992), pp. 3-17; Carolyn S. Dyer, "Economic Dependency and Concentration of Ownership Among Antebellum Wisconsin Newspapers," **Journalism History**, 7 (Summer

Non-printed newspapers necessarily shift the "critical mass" requirements away from printing's basic economic concerns to other more relevant, less technologically driven considerations, such as the social, psychological, and cultural functions of public communication.[9] People published newspapers throughout the West's frontier period, for example, to meet these basic public communication needs whether they had a printing press or not. In a study of eight Western territories, Barbara Cloud found that more than half of the 165 counties she examined had *no printed* newspapers in 1880.[10] Yet another study found that more than 80 handwritten newspapers were published in the western United States between 1842 and 1910.[11] Places where handwritten papers appeared may have been generally less populated, developed or stable than where printed papers appeared, but the social, psychological and cultural conditions were sufficient for handwritten publications.

Not needing print's economic prerequisites, handwritten newspapers were far more adaptable to a variety of communities and social groups. Throughout the Canadian and American West, handwritten newspapers were published by construction crews, literary societies, reading clubs, Indians, fur traders, miners, missionaries, soldiers, sailors, suffragists, men, women and children. They appeared in small towns, mining camps, frontier forts, schools, mission outposts, ships at sea and prisons.[12]

Handwritten newspapers were, in fact, ideally suited to the communicative needs of

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1980), 42-46.

[8] See Roy Alden Atwood, "The 'Critical Mass' for the Frontier Press: Demographics, Economics and Newspapers During Idaho's Territorial Period," unpublished paper presented to the American Journalism Historians Association convention, Atlanta, Georgia, October 1989.

[9] Non-printed newspapers, such as today's on-line, computer-based electronic versions, must meet significantly different requirements to be successful than their printed counterparts. Audience needs and "circulation" also take on significantly different characteristics, yet remain linked somehow to the traditional notion of a newspaper.

[10] Cloud, "Establishing the Frontier Newspaper," pp. 805-808.

[11] See the author's "Handwritten Newspapers of the Canadian-American West, 1842-1910," unpublished paper submitted to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention, Kansas City, Missouri, August 1993.

[12] **Ibid.**, p. 17.

people who found themselves in loosely structured, temporary or mobile social settings. Where confinement, isolation and cultural depravation were the norm, and access to a printing press was absolutely out of the question, handwritten journalism filled the void.

Such was the case with the six handwritten prison newspapers examined here. These papers were products of transient groups of soldiers, not stable, traditional communities, who were incarcerated under extremely adverse conditions. Given their physical and psychological confinement, and their social and cultural isolation, these prisoners-of-war used the best available technology to publish a symbol of community life for a captive audience. These were "real" newspapers for "real" communities, though they fit few of the common assumptions about printed newspapers or traditional newspaper communities.

True Blue

Two hundred and seventy soldiers under the command of Gen. Hugh McLeod, accompanied by a contingent of merchants, commissioners, journalists and "pleasure-seekers," set out from Brushy Creek, Texas, about 15 miles west of Austin, on June 21, 1841, to establish trade with New Mexico and to extend the jurisdiction of Texas over the Santa Fe area. Controversial from the start,[13] the Santa Fe Expedition, ended in disaster. The party became lost in early August and began running out of food. By mid-September members of the ill-equipped "commercial venture" were starving and about 300 miles beyond their intended destination when Mexican forces captured them. The mission was supposed to be peaceful, but the Mexican authorities considered the Texan soldiers an invasion force and treated them as prisoners of war.

Chained and bound, the prisoners began their 1,200-mile march to Mexico City on

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[13] The Santa Fe Expedition was sanctioned by Texan President Lamar and supported by U.S. President Polk, who had recommended an appropriation by Congress to help pay expenses. Coming only five years after the war to gain Texas independence (1836), the military expedition clearly anticipated negative Mexican reactions to its mission to the disputed New Mexico territory east of the Rio Grande River: the expedition force took along printed flyers in Spanish assuring Mexican nationals that the mission had only peaceful intentions.

Oct. 17, 1841. Several members of the Santa Fe Expedition died enroute of exposure and others were executed for trying to escape. The Texan unit was finally imprisoned at the Castle Santiago, Mexico City, and later moved to the Castle Perote near the coast. The prisoners were released and returned home in July 1842 with the assistance of the American ambassador to Mexico.

During their imprisonment, several members of the Santa Fe Expedition published six issues of a handwritten newspaper they called **True Blue**. According to George W. Kendall, the noted editor of the New Orleans **Picayune** and a member of the ill-fated expedition, **True Blue** was a "neatly-written paper, published weekly in Santiago" and "in newspaper parlance, the 'whole affair was exceedingly well got up.'"[14]

The first number of **True Blue** was published April 1, 1842. The 9- by 13-inch paper had two columns and larger-than-body-text headlines. The text and heads were written in a generally legible, cursive form. The front page had a stylized and illustrated title, volume-number information, date, location ("Mexiço"), and the pseudonym of its editor, "Simon Pure." Kendall reported that a "Mr. Grover" showed him the April 21, 1842 issue (Vol. 1, No. 4), and that "among the contributors were Mr. Grover himself, a young man named Mabry, and others."[15] The actual editor and other contributors are unknown.

The editor explained the nature of the prison paper in the premier issue in the language and style common to other newspapers of the period:

> TO OUR READERS.
>
> In presenting to our readers the first number of "The True Blue" we hope that it will meet that encouragement which we think it deserves from such an enlightened assemblage.
>
> This number presents to our readers the style in which we intend to publish "The True Blue"--endeavoring to avoid all sarcastic personalities, upholding no political party nor any sectarian creed, our aim will be to give to our readers, the news of the day both at home and abroad, together with such original miscellany as will be interesting.
>
> Having engaged the services of several gentlemen of talent, we feel confident

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[14] George W. Kendall, **Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition**, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Bros., 1844), p. 330-331.

[15] **Ibid.**, p. 331.

that "The True Blue" will receive a liberal share of public patronage.[16]

The **True Blue** contained timely, "breaking" news stories for its captive audience. These stories were to provide factual accounts of events of interest to the prisoners, to correct falsehoods that were circulating, and to prevent wild rumors from spreading fear or false hopes.

> From the Gulf--We learn that Com. Moor has been taken by the Mexicans, whether there were any others with him we cannot ascertain, nor can our reporter find out how and where he was taken.
>
> We understand that Powhatson [?] Ellis, Esq.--the United States Minister to the city of Mexico, has been recalled.[17]

Advertisements also appeared regularly in the paper. These varied from "want ads" to announcements to "personals" expressing prisoners' needs or concerns.

> We are out of Soap--Our Treasurer having absqustulated [sic] with what little funds was raised for the purchase of paper.
> We therefore hope, that our contributors in arrear, will buck up.
>
> ADVERTISEMENTS.
>
> Dissolution--The copartnership heretofore existing between Drs. C--gs, and R-h [sic], is this day dissolved by mutual consent.
> Dr. R-h, still occupies the old office, and will always keep open doors to them requiring his assistance.--
> Dr. C-gs, has moved to Tacubaya, and respectfully solicits the patronage of his old friends.
>
> ---------------
>
> Strayed or Stolen--About a week since a blue striped cotton shirt disappeared suddenly from the head of my bed. Any person knowing where it is, will receive a liberal reward by returning it to
> A- B-
>
> ---------------
>
> J- R- 's, proposes to give, on his return from Tacubaya, a series of lectures in the following order.
> First, on Phrenology--in which he will give several striking proffs [sic] its universal application to the human species.
> Second--On Moral Philosophy, in which he will explain the moral effects of civilization on mankind.
> Third--On Manners and good Breeding--In which he will point out several important improvements that he has discovered, which are not lain down in Chesterfield.
> Admittance--gratis.[18]

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[16] **True Blue**, 1:1 (April 1, 1842), p. 1.
[17] **Ibid.**, p. 2.
[18] **Ibid.**, p. 4.

In terms of the distribution of news, editorials, poetry, letters to the editor and advertisements, the content of the **True Blue** was similar to most newspapers of its day.

Summary of Contents of *The True Blue*, 1:1, April 1, 1842

(Measured in column inches; 26 column inches per page)

Content	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3	Page 4	Total	Percent
News	16.25	11.25	0	0	27.5	26
Editorials	6.75	0	0	0	6.75	6
Poems/Literature	0	7.5	26	14	47.5	46
Letters to the Editor	0	7.25	0	0	7.25	7
Advertisements	0	0	0	12	12	12
Titles/Masthead	3	0	0	0	3	3
Totals	**26**	**26**	**26**	**26**	**104**	**100**

In the final "Farewell Sheet," the editors listed a summary of the "statistics" of the "Texan Santa Fe Pioneers." One hundred thirty one of the Texan prisoners had been held at one time or another at Mexico City, 29 had been "liberated" and 102 remained at the time of the last **True Blue**. The report indicated that 36 members of the expedition died, including one suicide, eight "killed by Indians," seven "killed by Mexicans," six "missing from camp supposed to be killed," and two "killed accidentally."[19]

Contemporary critics and most historians regarded the Santa Fe Expedition as a major diplomatic and military blunder. George Kendall's widely distributed firsthand accounts of the expedition did much to establish a negative image of the failed campaign. Some noteworthy politicians and scholars reinforced that assessment: Andrew Jackson called the expedition "an ill-judged affair" and a "wild-goose campaign", and H.H. Bancroft called it "an ill-disgusted scheme." Revisionists such T.M. Marshall have argued, to the contrary, that the expedition had reasonable commercial motivation and worthy goals that simply didn't materialize, because of the few fatal errors of judgment made along the way.[20]

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[19] **Ibid.**, 1:6 (May 1842), pp. 1-2.

From the vantage point of the editors of **True Blue**, the failure of the mission rested on the shoulders of the Santa Fe Expedition's commanding officer, Gen. H.S. McLeod. In the paper's "farewell" issue, the editors wrote this final comment:

> We intended to have made some remarks concerning the conduct of Gen. McLeod, but will only at present give to our readers the following communication which partakes of too much truth to be omitted. We can only say that Gen. McLeod has made himself notoriously contemptible in the eyes of his fellow companions not only for present but past conduct. Eds.[21]

No other details are supplied, but editors clearly held the general accountable for the expedition's poor planning, poor execution and pathetic end.

Right Flanker

The **Right Flanker** was, according to the editors of **The Magazine of History**, "the only instance of a manuscript newspaper conducted by Confederate officers, while confined in any of the Northern prisons during the Rebellion."[22]

Twenty issues of the variable-length paper appeared weekly between October 1863 and March 1864 at Fort Lafayette, a Union prison facility on the Narrows of New York Bay.[23] Lafayette had been an existing fortification that was converted into a military prison at the start of the war. Most of the prisoners kept at the fort were Southern officers and Northern citizens accused of disloyalty. Some prominent Northerners, including members of the Maryland legislature, were sent to the prison for criticizing the government. Officers who had resigned commissions in the U.S. Army to take Confederate commands were sent to Lafayette if captured.

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[20] 20. Thomas Maitland Marshall, "Commercial Aspects of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition," **The South Western History Quarterly**, XX:3 (Jan. 1917), 242-259. Quotes from Andrew Jackson and H.H. Bancroft cited in Marshall, pp. 259 and 243, respectively.

[21] 21. **True Blue**, 1:6 (May 1842), p. 2.

[22] 22. Editor's Preface, **The Magazine of History**, Extra No. 13 (1911), 197.

[23] 23. Fort Lafayette was under the command of Col. Martin Burke, 3rd Artillery and veteran of the Mexican-American War, who served 43 years in the U.S. Army.

Most of the fort's prisoners were well educated men who organized efforts to adjust to their confinement. The publication of **Right Flanker** was one such enterprise undertaken to lessen the pitfalls of imprisonment.[24]

The original paper was written in pen and ink by nine writer-editors, who introduced themselves and gave their personal histories in the first number. They did not identify themselves by name, apparently to avoid punishment for the production of the "contraband" paper. Based on these self-descriptions, editors of **The Magazine of History** were able to identify only one of the editors of **Right Flanker** as Lt. W.T. Glassell, an officer with the Confederate flagship, New Ironsides, which was captured Oct. 6, 1863 at Charleston, S.C.[25]

Most of the editors were given responsibility for particular subjects covered by the paper: for example, "the oldest prisoner in the fort . . . is to attend to the agricultural department of the **Right Flanker**;"[26] "an adventurer from his native place, Nova Scotia . . . in consequence of his not having been naturalized, he is to be known as the diplomatic head of the Right Flanker;"[27] "the party who is to be looked to as the nautical reporter--a young Confederate officer" (Lt. Glassell);[28] "the appointed local item reporter [is] a blockade runner;"[29] "the Chess reporting is confided to the most quiet of the inmates of cell No. 3;"[30] and "the Land-o'-Cakes is represented amongst us by a person who assumes the place of musical contributor."[31] After the **Right Flanker's** editors were released from the Fort Lafayette prison, they took the issues to England and had them printed in book form in

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[24] Patricia L. Faust, editor, **Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War** (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), p. 275.

[25] **Right Flanker**, No. 1(?), p. 46 (202).

[26] **Ibid.**, p. 45 (201).

[27] **Ibid.**, p. 46 (202).

[28] **Ibid.**

[29] **Ibid.**, p. 47 (203).

[30] **Ibid.**

[31] **Ibid**, p. 48 (204).

1865.[32] The printed form of the **Right Flanker** runs 47 pages, but it is unclear how faithful this version is to the handwritten originals.

The printed version depicts a paper devoted largely to monitoring the progress of the war based on reports published in "the newspapers which [they] were allowed to purchase (any but those advocating the war or Administration are prohibited)."[33] The newspapers most readily available to the prisoners were, of course, from New York, such as the "extreme Abolition sheet, the **Tribune**,"[34] the **Herald** of "Bennett and Barnum,"[35] and a "Democratic Catholic paper," **The Metropolitan Record**,[36] which was later banned from the prisoners along with the Episcopal Prayer Book.[37] Access to the New York **Herald** was crucial to the captives, because escapees from the Lafayette prison communicated with those still at the fort by running "personals" in the **Herald** after they reached safe haven.[38]

The remaining pages of the **Right Flanker** were devoted to "affording a correct knowledge of prison life in the United States during the present war,"[39] and the arrival of new prisoners. The publication of information about new prisoners at the fort was necessary because prison rules were "strictly enforced," according to the editors, so as to keep those "in No. 2 and 3 separate from those in other quarters of the Fort."[40] Humor or light-hearted features were infrequent.

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[32] Editor's Preface, **The Magazine of History**, Extra No. 13 (1911), 197.

[33] **Right Flanker**, No. 2(?), p. 50 (206).

[34] **Ibid.**, No. 3(?), p. 54 (209), 83 (238).

[35] **Ibid.**, No. 6(?), p. 58 (213).

[36] **Ibid., No. 15(?)**, p. 75 (231).

[37] **Ibid.**

[38] **Ibid.**, No. 17(?), p. 83 (238): "The principal subject of interest during the week has been the report from our friend the officer who escaped at the depot at Baltimore. When jokingly talking over the chances of escape, his room-mates suggested as a programme, to be followed in case of success in getting away from the guard, first to assume the character of a preacher, on account of delicate appearance. . . . Then, as soon as out of danger, to insert a personal in the **Herald**, using certain cabalistic words which were on the walls of the cell, as we would be on the lookout. . . . We have the personal in the **Herald**, from which it appears he went out from the Capes of Virginia in a British vessel.

The other lucky fellow, who escaped at the Jersey City depot not having been a room-mate of the editorial staff of the **Right Flanker**, failed to inform us exactly of the programme of his case."

[39] **Ibid.**, No. 20(?), p. 90 (246).

[40] **Ibid.**, No. 9(?), p. 63 (219).

The editors wrote in their first edition that the purpose "in starting such a sheet as the **Right Flanker**" was

> to relieve the monotony of prison life, by calling into action the taste and faculties of those who are capable of contributing to its columns; instructing and amusing those who cannot, and to furnish to all who are to share the spice of excitement, which the risk of such a contraband undertaking affords, something of which it is hoped, reference can be pleasantly made by them in after years."

Sometime in February 1864 the editors reported that "a general search of the prisoners' quarters was about to be started." Because the paper was "contraband," the "**Right Flanker** was suitably looked after, and for two days we would trust none but our most experienced and reliable scouts to report as to what was transpiring."[41]

Sometime near the end of February, most of the officers held at Cell No. 3 were to be transferred to Fort McHenry. To mark the occasion and to lament the loss of some of the paper's primary correspondents, the editors held "an Editorial Banquet in honour of the **Right Flanker**," the report of which appeared in the paper's "local item column."[42]

Without extant copies of the handwritten originals, it is impossible to assess the overall design and graphic elements of the paper. But if the printed version has any faithfulness to the handwritten version, **Right Flanker** was not unlike its New York "competitors": filled with news, editorials and a passion for its partisan cause.

The Libby Chronicle

After Andersonville, Libby Prison at Richmond, Virginia, was the most famous Confederate military prison. Andersonville held enlisted men; Libby held Federal officers and a few journalists. The prison was a grim three-story, 150-by-100 foot building on an isolated lot next to the James River. Before the war, the building had been a warehouse of Libby and Sons, Ship Chandlers and Grocers. Union prisoners there found the quality of the facilities and the provisions to be very poor. By 1863, the facility was so crowded that prisoners had to sleep in shifts and roll over in unison on the command of a leader.[43]

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[41] **Ibid.**, No. 15(?), p. 73-74 (229-230).
[42] **Ibid.**, No. 16(?), p. 78 (234).

Amid these crowded and squalid conditions, seven numbers of **The Libby Chronicle** were written in manuscript in 1863. One Libby prisoner, Capt. Frank Moran, of the 73rd New York Volunteers, recalled the **Chronicle** in a personal letter:

> "The spirt of Yankee enterprise was well illustrated by the publication of a newspaper by the energetic chaplain of a New York regiment. It was entitled **The Libby Prison Chronicle**. True, there were no printing facilities at hand, but, undaunted by this difficulty, the editor obtained and distributed quantities of manuscript paper among the prisoners who were leaders in their several professions, so that there was soon organized an extensive corps of able correspondents, local reporters, poets, punsters, and witty paragraphers, that gave the chronicle a pronounced success. Pursuant to previous announcement, the "editor" on a stated day each week, would take up his position in the center of the upper east room, and, surrounded by an audience limited only by the available space, would read the articles contributed during the week."[44]

The **Chronicle** was merely one part of a fairly elaborate cultural system created by the well educated officers held at Libby Prison.

Albert Deane Richardson and Junius Browne, correspondents with the New York **Tribune** who were captured at Vicksburg, were held at Libby Prison from May 16 to September 3, 1863. When both reporters were transferred to another prison, Richardson wrote that he regretted leaving Libby because,

> Classes are organized in Greek, Latin, French, German, Spanish, Mathematics, & Phonography, while there are plenty of surgeons and chaplains to encourage amateurs in Physiology and zealots in Dialectics. The 'Libby Lyceum' meets twice a week, with spirited debates, & there is a MS newspaper styled **The Libby Chronicle**.[45]

The precise role the **Chronicle** played for the prisoners is not known, but its importance in contributing to community life within the confinement of the prison is clear.

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[43] Patricia L. Faust, editor, **Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War**, pp. 436-438.

[44] Frank E. Moran, "Libby's Bright Side: A Silver Lining in the Dark Cloud of Prison Life," in W.C. King and W.P. Derby, editors, **Camp-fire Sketches and Battle-field Echoes** (Springfield, Ill.: 1887), pp. 183-185.

[45] Louis M. Starr, **Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action** (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987 [1954]), pp. 188-189.

The Old Flag

The Old Flag was one of two and possibly three handwritten Civil War newspapers published at Camp Ford, a Confederate prison complex in Tyler and Hempstead, Texas. Camp Ford was the largest Confederate military prison in Texas. The prison held both officers and enlisted men from 1863 to the end of war. The prison held as many as 4,900 prisoners by July 1864. Living conditions in the open stockade were generally good. Fresh water, adequate shelter and plentiful food supplies made the prison a *relatively* healthy place; during its 21-month existence, roughly 250 soldiers died in the camp. Most soldiers were allowed to keep many of their possessions, to manufacture items for sale and to purchase food and supplies from local farmers and merchants.[46] To facilitate these economic transactions, **The Old Flag** published a "REVIEW OF THE TEXAS MARKET-for the Month of February, 1864" in its March 1 edition.

Capt. William H. May, of the 23rd Connecticut Volunteers, with the assistance of other Union soldiers, published and edited at least three issues of **The Old Flag** between February 17 and March 13, 1864,[47] during their 13-month confinement in the Confederate prison camp. According to J.P. Robens, one of the prisoners, the paper was published on sheets of "unruled letter paper, in imitation of *print*, a steel pen being employed in the absence of a Hoe Press."[48] The three-column, four-page paper made liberal use of large headlines and graphic elements.

The paper's primary goal was "to contribute as far as possible towards enlivening the monotonous, and at times almost unbearably eventless life of Camp Ford--and to cultivate a mutual good feeling between all." Contributions were solicited on matters of local news and camp issues. **The Old Flag** published poetry and art, and included satire, jokes and chess problems. Display advertisements appeared in every issue, and "most of them *bona fide*, genuine." Most of the ads promoted the services of skilled prisoners for the benefit of the others. For example, pipe makers, barbers, cigar makers, shoe shines and "job printing" (by the editor) were all available in the prison city.[49]

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[46] Patricia L. Faust, editor, **Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War**, p. 110.

[47] The date on **The Old Flag**, 1:3, is March 13, 1864, but a poem on p. 3, "To Mrs. Col R.T.P. Allen," is dated March 14. The poem was likely a day-late insertion.

[48] J.P. Robens, "Preface," **The Old Flag**, lithograph reproduction (New York: W.H. May, [1864]), n.p.

Summary of Contents of *The Old Flag*, 1:1, February 17, 1864

(Measured in column inches; 33 column inches per page)

Content	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3	Page 4	Total	Percent
News	11.5	12.25	6.75	13	43.5	33
Editorials	0	4	12.25	0	16.25	12
Poems/Games	9	5	7	0	21	16
Letters to the Editor	0	5.25	0	0	5.25	4
Advertisements	6.5	3.5	4	17.75	31.75	24
Titles/Masthead	6	3	3	2.25	14.25	11
Totals	**33**	**33**	**33**	**33**	**132**	**100**

The first number announced that the next issue would be in "an entire new dress, we having received new Types from the Foundry of J. Connor & Son, of N.Y.! This number is printed with 'secesh' ink, which does not appear to 'take' well upon Yankee paper."[50] Only one copy was published of each number, which was then read aloud in the various cabins by some member of the "Mess." When all the prisoners had read or heard it read, the paper was returned by the "Subscriber" to the "Office of Publication."[51]

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[49] **The Old Flag**, 1:3 (March 13, 1864), p. 2: "Statistic--There have been manufactured by knife in this camp, since last September, over forty setts [sic] of Chessmen, of which Lt. John Woodward has himself completed eight of the best!

"The number of Pipes turned out, as near as can be arrived at, is not less than Five Hundred--both of wood and clay."

[50] **The Old Flag**, 1:1 (Feb. 17, 1864), p. 2.

[51] J.P. Robens, "Preface," n.p.

In the third number, March 15, 1864, the editor published his intentions to preserve The Old Flag after his release from Camp Ford.

> TO OUR PATRONS
>
> We shall make it our first object on our arrival at New York City--which will probably be within a few week after our Exchange--to learn the practicability of getting the three numbers of the "Old Flag" Lithographed. Should the expense be too great to warrant our adopting this means of securing fac simile [sic] copies, we shall print with types as nearly as similar to the letter penned by us as can be procured, with heading and illustrations engraved. We shall endeavor to make the copies close imitations of the original papers. In addition we propose to publish a few accurate pictures, delineating life at Camp Ford, Camp Groce, &c, printed on sheets inserted in each number of the "Old Flag" with a Title Page, and complete List of the Officers Prisoners [sic] at this place, neatly bound.

The editor kept his promise. The lithographed reproduction of **The Old Flag** was published in New York in 1864 and included a "List of officers, prisoners of war at Camp Ford . . . giving rank, regiment, where and when captured."

The Corn-Dodger Advocate and Undaunted Companion

An "Advertisement" on the fourth page of **The Old Flag**'s third and final issue, dated March 13, 1864, read:

> PROSPECTUS
>
> THE first number of a semi-occasionally Newspaper [sic] entitled
> **THE CORN-DODGER ADVOCATE**
> **---AND---**
> **UNDAUNTED COMPANION**
> will be issued APRIL FIRST, --1864, bearing date, April 7th '64, published one week in advance of date in order to reach distant subscribers on time. Devoted to the public good and filled with choice matter on Romance, Poetry, Local and Foreign News, Wit, and Humor, Advertisements and Correspondence.
>
> The POETICAL Department will be under the special charge of FRANCIS MARIAN, JR. assisted by Molley Moore and a galaxy of Southern lyres.
>
> HARRY, the celebrated companion of HUMBOLDT in his travels will attend to the ROMANCE, and the first number will contain the opening chapters of a thrilling Novelette, entitled the "PATAGONIAN GIANT; or the DELAPIDATED MANSION ON THE RHINE, A Fearful Tale of Blood, Hair and Horror" Done in short-hand
>
> D.E.L. AMATER, TOM, SON, &ec.
> Publishers and Proprietors
> Shin-bone Alley, Head 5th Av.

No extant copies of this paper have been located, no other references to it have been found and, given the April 1st dating, it is unknown if the prospectus was serious or just an "April Fool's" joke.

The prospective "publishers and proprietors" listed in the advertisement were likely Lt. J. DeLamater, of the 91st New York Volunteers, and Capt. S.E. Thomason, of the 176th New York Volunteers, both identified in the "List of Prisoners" published in the first number of **The Old Flag.**[52]

The Camp Ford News

Another Camp Ford handwritten paper was definitely published, but only one issue is known to have been produced. The lone number of **The Camp Ford News** appeared May 1, 1865, just after the last publication of **The Old Flag**. The **News** was apparently short-lived, because the war ended May 17, 1865 and Camp Ford was abandoned.

Still, the paper was published just as Camp Ford's largest influx of prisons came following Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Bank's disastrous Red River Campaign. With almost 5,000 soldiers crowded into the camp, sickness increased and the general conditions of prison life declined.

Conclusion

These six handwritten prisoner-of-war newspapers were real newspapers. Their own editors thought so, journalists with printed newspapers from the same period thought so, and their own qualities and characteristics demonstrated so. Their obvious differences distinguished them from printed papers, but their differences are in keeping with the diversity of styles, formats and technologies encountered throughout the history of the newspaper--party papers, "independent" commercial papers, urban dailies, rural weeklies, foreign language papers, illustrated papers, and so on. With the possible exception of **The Corn-Dodger Advocate and Undaunted Companion**, the evidence presented here provides strong lexical justification for calling these handwritten publications "newspapers."

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[52] **The Old Flag,** 1:1 (Feb. 17, 1864), p. 4.

The prison papers were a complex genre, as reflected in the circumstances of their publication. As journalistic products of non-traditional communities, the papers embodied the social, psychological and cultural concerns of people isolated, confined and deprived of most elements of a "normal" life. These papers were published by individuals who experienced the constraints of a harsh, physical confinement behind prison walls and faced hostile enemies as part of daily living. Under such conditions, publishing handwritten newspapers was just as crucial to creating community (and preserving sanity) as it was for frontier settlements. As community publications, these papers varied according to the needs of their captive audiences and the circumstances of their confinement.

The editors provided news and entertainment, advertisements and literary features to vanquished soldiers held against their will. Journalism under such conditions was certainly not easy, especially when such publications were considered "contraband." But as acts of public communication, and political defiance, the publication of these papers were symbols of prisoner solidarity and resolve. Unlike most traditional community newspapers, these papers had almost 100 percent "circulation" among their intended audiences. And the importance of the papers to the soldiers was embodied in the efforts to have them preserved after the prison experience ended.

Thus, these six papers challenge some common assumptions about 19th century newspapers and their communities. They were "real" newspapers, yet not printed. They were published not for traditional communities as geographically fixed entities, but for groups of transient soldiers, thrust together randomly behind prison walls. They thereby suggest that newspaper journalism is a cultural, semantic activity so deeply rooted that the absence of a printing press and the trauma of prison confinement cannot suppress it. At the very least, the handwritten prison newspapers demonstrate that journalism is more than just an economically based or technologically driven product of urban life.

Annotated Bibliography
# of Handwritten Prison Camp Papers
# of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition and the War Between the States

THE CAMP FORD NEWS

Place of Publication: Camp Ford, Tyler, Texas
Frequency: "Only one copy is known to have been printed, this being the issue of May 1, 1865"
Volume and Issue Data: May 1, 1865
Size and Format: One sheet broadside
Editor/Publisher: Capt. Lewis Burger
Bibliography: F. Lee Lawrence and Robert W. Glover, **Camp Ford, C.S.A.: The Story of Union Prisoners in Texas** (Austin, Texas: Texas Civil War Centennial Advisory Committee, 1964)
Locations: Smith County Historical Society, Tyler, Texas

THE CORN-DODGER ADVOCATE AND UNDAUNTED COMPANION

Place of Publication: Camp Ford, Tyler, Texas
Frequency: "Issued APRIL FIRST--1864, bearing date, April 7th '64"
Volume and Issue Data: No known issues; only prospectus published in **The Old Flag**, 1:3 (March 13, 1864), p. 4
Size and Format: Unknown
Editor/Publisher: "D.E.L. AMATER, TOM, SON, &ec.Publishers and Proprietors"; probably Lt. J. DeLamater, 91st New York Volunteers, and Capt S.E. Thomason, 176th New York Volunteers
Bibliography: None
Locations: No issues located; cited in **The Old Flag**, 1:3 (March 13, 1864), p. 4.

THE LIBBY CHRONICLE

Place of Publication: Libby Prison, Richmond, Virginia, Confederate States of America
Frequency: Weekly; irregular
Volume and Issue Data: Vol. 1, Nos. 8-12, Vol. 2 (1863)
Size and Format: Written on "manuscript paper"
Editor/Publisher: "J.L. Ransom" (A chaplain of a New York regiment)
Bibliography: J.L. Ransom, **Libby Prison Chronicle** (Chicago: J.L. Ransom, 1894); Frank E. Moran, "Libby's Bright Side: A Silver Lining in the Dark Cloud of Prison Life," in

W.C. King and W.P. Derby, eds., **Camp-fire Sketches and Battle-field Echoes** (Springfield, Ill: 1887), pp. 183-185; Louis M. Starr, **Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954, 1987), pp. 188-189; Frank S. Stone, The Treatment and Conditions of the War Prisoners Held in the South During the Civil War, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Idaho, 1954, pp. 31-33.
Locations: None, but text and illustrations printed in Ransom (1894)

THE OLD FLAG

Place of Publication: Camp Ford, Tyler, Texas
Frequency: Bi-weekly, irregular
Volume and Issue Data: Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 17, 1864-No. 3, March 13, 1864
Size and Format: 8 1/2 x 11; four pages per issue; three columns; pen and ink
Editor/Publisher: Capt. William H. May (1864)
Bibliography: F. Lee Lawrence and Robert W. Glover, **Camp Ford, C.S.A.: The Story of Union Prisoners in Texas** (Austin: Texas Civil War Centennial Advisory Committee, 1964), 36-37
Locations: No issues located; Lithographed reproduction, **The Old Flag** (New York: W.H. May, 1864) in collections of the Texas State Library Archives, Austin, Texas, and the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

RIGHT FLANKER

Place of Publication: Fort-La-Fayette, Union Prison Camp at the Narrows of New York Bay, New York
Frequency: Unknown; possibly weekly
Volume and Issue Data: Twenty numbers published October 1863 March 1864
Size and Format: Pen and ink
Editor/Publisher: Unknown; Confederate officers
Bibliography: "Fort-La-Fayette Life, 1863-1864: In extracts from the 'Right Flanker,' a manuscript sheet circulating among the Southern Prisoners in Fort-La-Fayette," (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1865; New York: William Abbatt, 1911), **The Magazine of History**, Extra No. 13, 197-246
Locations: No issues located; reprinted in "Fort-La-Fayette Life, 1863-1864: In extracts from the 'Right Flanker,' a manuscript sheet circulating among the Southern Prisoners in Fort-La-Fayette," (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1865; New York: William Abbatt, 1911), **The Magazine of History**, Extra No. 13, 197-246

TRUE BLUE

Place of Publication: Castle Santiago Prison, Mexico City, Mexico
Frequency: Weekly for six weeks
Volume and Issue Data: Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1, 1842-Vol. 1, No. 6, May 1842
Size and Format: Variable; 9 x 13 inches; one to two columns; cursive; pen and ink

Editor/Publisher: "Simon Pure"; contributors included a Mr. Grover and Mr. Mabry, et al. (see Kendall)

Bibliography: Bob Karolevitz, "Pen and Ink Newspapers of the Old West," **Frontier Times**, 44:2 (Feb.-Mar., 1970), 31, 62; Robert F. Karolevitz, **Newspapering in the Old West: A Pictorial History of Journalism and Printing on the Frontier** (New York: Bonanza Books, 1969), p. 140; Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration, **Texas: A Guide to the Lone Star State** (New York: Hastings House, 1940), 121; George Wilkins Kendall, **Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition**, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Bros., 1844), 330-331

Locations: Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 6 (original); Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 5 and 6 (photocopy) Texas State Library Archives, Austin, Texas

[illegible] EDITED BY [illegible]

VOL. 1. [illegible] MEXICO [illegible]

TO OUR READERS.

In presenting [illegible] of "The [illegible]" [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] any [illegible] orders, we [illegible] will try to give our readers, the news of the day that [illegible] abroad, together with such original [illegible] as will be interesting.

Relying upon the [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] we [illegible] that "[illegible]" will [illegible] patronage.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We commence to-day [illegible] narr- of the loss of the ill-fated steamer "Home" [illegible] in which we consider the Captain's capacity, [illegible] of the kind which [illegible] off the [illegible]

Several communications have been received, some of which are of too slanderous character — they cannot be inserted [illegible] the [illegible]

NEWS OF THE DAY.

Great excitement prevails not only in the [illegible] but over all Europe, in con- [illegible] of the [illegible] of Capt. [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] — that [illegible] name — the [illegible] [illegible] the first inventor of railroads [illegible] of engines [illegible] the great [illegible] The man [illegible] of battleships [illegible] a few years [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] there [illegible] did not see [illegible] after [illegible] Mr. [illegible] his [illegible] led and pranced around the [illegible] [illegible] satisfaction, [illegible] by the front where there was a [illegible] pavement, his horse slipped and fell bringing rider and all to the ground [illegible] [illegible]

We were amused by [illegible] the [illegible] jumping up behind [illegible] made [illegible] but [illegible] appear to be relished by the [illegible] [illegible] to the ground.

After taking [illegible] to our gratification, they took their leave.

On Monday last, the [illegible] all of the [illegible] prisoners, [illegible] and equipped according to their strength took up the line of march for [illegible] place on the road leading [illegible] Anna's country seat [illegible] want to know the [illegible] of the [illegible] of these Prisoners of War [illegible]

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TRUE BLUE.

UBI LIBERTAS [illegible] PATRIA

[illegible] BY SIMON PURE.

VOL. 1 | MEXICO | MAY 1842. | NO. 6.

FAREWELL SHEET

Index to Number Six. IX

To our Readers - page 1
Address 1
To Correspondents 2
Statistics of the Santa Fe Pioneers 1
Home Correspondents
The Texians, Mexicans and Uncle Sam 2
[illegible] Letters 2
[illegible] 5
[illegible] Island
[illegible] the [illegible]
Novelties in Santiago 4
[illegible] Poet 4
[illegible]
Farewell to Francisca 4
Portrait of J. T. Crowder [illegible] 5
Original Miscellany
Another Chapter from the Life of Capt. Crowder, on the Coast of Africa 5
Another Chapter from the same — The Rescue
Romance of the South

To our Readers.

Owing to [illegible] of the pro-prietors, the True Blue has not [illegible] its appearance [illegible] [illegible] of the friends [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] friends who have so faithfully [illegible] them [illegible]

[illegible] literary labours for the amusement of their companions, and sincerely [illegible] that soon they may all [illegible] spreading and [illegible] that partakes [illegible] of freedom and freemen's rights.

Farewell Address.

Our old, [illegible] and patient [illegible]
Observe [illegible] our farewell sheet,
As [illegible]
Our [illegible]

There's [illegible]
And [illegible]
[illegible]
Beyond [illegible]

But [illegible]
And [illegible]
Which happy crisis when it doth arrive
Will be the signal his labours to [illegible]

So let us here our fondest hopes [illegible]
That [illegible]
And indulge the [illegible] that soon again
[illegible] stands in life [illegible]
So now kind friends, farewell for [illegible]
[illegible] go with You and You go in peace.

Items of the Day.

From a Reference [illegible] made out by Mr. [illegible] we give the following statistics in regard to the Santa Fe Pioneers.

Number of the detachment which left the main command on the [illegible] a tributary of the Red River.

Commissioners [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Officers

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1869 CITY OF WASHINGTON

THE OLD FLAG.

Vol. I. CAMP FORD, Tyler, Smith Co, Texas, Feb. 17. 1864. No. 1.

"THE OLD FLAG.

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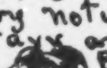
BY U.G. TELEGRAPH AND
BALD EAGLE EXPRESS.

LATEST NEWS!

Shreveport, Feb. 16th 1864.

We stop the Lightning to forward to your readers the important intelligence that all prisners in the State of Texas, all rumors to the contrary notwithstanding, both the Navy and of the Army, have  BEEN EXCHANGED

LOYAL TEXAS.

THE work of regeneration h's begun. The tenth part of the people of Texas, represented by the UNION Inhabitants of CAMP FORD, embracing the gallant soldier, the patriotic refugee, and the unterrified exile, have sworne to uphold our magnanimous President in his generous endeavor to unite all parties for his own support. In the words of the new and original motto, at the head of our editorial Column, "Long may he Wave."

Already we rally distinguished officers enough to hold all of the positions of an Army Corps; men who have trod the sacred soil of Texas, from Sabine Pass to Camp Groce, from Galveston to Tyler, from the RioGrande to the SanJacinto; men who are familiar with Guard houses and Penetentiaries and who have got their eye-teeth cut on corn dodgers & who laugh to scorn an eruption of gray-backs. To such veterans history must be sure and with the old FLAG wrapped around them, They will face a world in arms on Mustang Ponies. We call upon loyal Texans to cluster around our FLAG staff. We know that they have long cried for us as a tender infant cries for LT. SHERMAN'S LOZENGES. We unroll the banner of their redemption over Texan groves.

Forever float our standard sheet,
To drive disloyal Rebs before us,
With freedoms soil beneath our feet—

[TO BE CONTINUED IN OUR NEXT]

A GRAND CELEBRATION!

With the Violin lately purchased from one of the Guard for 100 dollars Confederate money (equal to $10.00 in Green-backs here) and the BANJO Messrs MARS & Co., are making, & CAPT. THOMASON'S excellent FLUTE, we are in hopes to have quite a BAND by the 22d of Feb. Now, with the addition of a Singing Club, we certainly do not lack Music for a Celebration on the Birth-day of Washington. We have excellent Public speakers, and therefore hope such a celebration will come off.

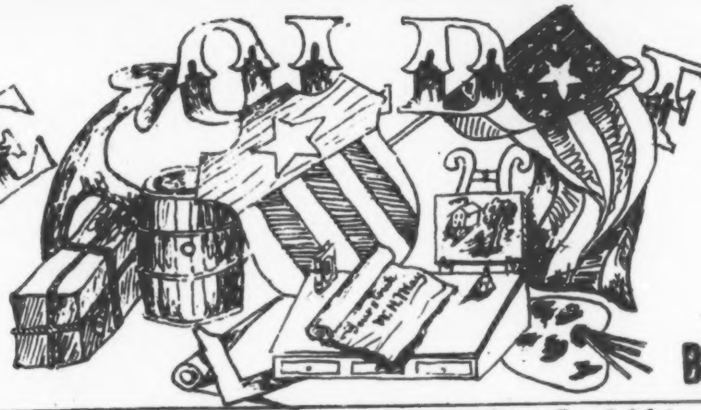
PAT-RIOT.

WHAT WE HAVE
—AND—
HAVE NOT.

WE have a LEAKE quite wise & good,
But no Caulker to use if we would,
We have a ROSE without a Thorne,
Who thrives upon Confederate-corn,
And yet again, we have a GRAY,
Minus a GREEN were bound to say.
We've a NOTT, yet strange to tell,
No ROPE have we, nor yet a BELL.
A BAILEY we have to
No LAWYER yet to ple
A MAY to keep us ple
No cold DECEMBER, and
That WELLS we have is
No BUCKET have we to
We have a COE, we
He'll do a good turn whenever
ADAMS here, and much
Because he's absent from
Tho' lacking a DANE,
Still a R
Tho' we've no
We've a PECK to use at pleasure.
And if we had a LAMB, I ween,
In peace with LYON twould be seen.
Though all are fond of dishes sweet,
ROBINS go unharmed thro' the street.
The queerest thing of this rare age.
We need a Title for our PAGE.
We have a Chase, yet sad to know.
We have no GAME alas! 'tis so.
We have a HUGG, yet do not care,
To have them add likewise a BEAR.
SAMPSON is also here on hand,
No jaw-bone tho' is in his hand.
Although the Rebs here hold a Morse,
Transport their News by some old horse.
MARS is with us, faithful, and
Yet we've no VENUS in our band.
LAURIE we fear, pines for ANNIE,—
Pardon friend, perhaps 'tis FANNIE.
O! then there's WHITE is also here,
No BLACK have we, Is it not queer.
And then although we have no POOL,
We have an EDDY, just from school.
A HUMBLE too, yet fail to see,
Within our midst a single BEE.
Altho' a DANE, 'tis true, indeed,
We have not with us one a SWEED.
The South is firmly fixed at last,
They've taken ROOT—are bedded fast.
We add with pleasure to our song,
We have a WRIGHT, and not a WRONG.
And what must seem to you most queer
We've WOODS, yet not a TREE is here!
WEEKS we number 'mong the rest,
And Several MONTHS have been our guest
A FOWLER, too, our list now swells,
Not the firm of FOWLER & WELLS.

This portion of the page got torn in taking it from under my shoulder strap upon arriving in Federal lines.

THE OLD FLAG



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Vol. I. CAMP FORD, TYLER, TEXAS, MARCH 1st, 1864. No. 2.

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☞ All Kinds of Plain and Fancy JOB-PRINTING, Neatly executed at this Office, by the Publisher, W. H. M.

THE FIRST MOVE.

At a meeting for the purpose of making arrangements in accordance with a suggestion in the last number of the "Old Flag" for celebrating the birth day of the Father of our Country, called to meet on Wednesday, Feb 17th, at 7 o'clock P.M., at as early an hour as 6 o'clock, delegates from the different loyal districts of Texas began to arrive, and at about a quarter past 7 o'clock the hall was [illegible] Patriotic an assembly as the "oldest inhabitant" of our borrough remembers ever to have seen together in this renowned Hall at any one time — i.e.; — Undistributed Hall, corner Battery-Place and Shin-bone Alley.

The meeting was called to order by Capt. S. E. Thomason and Major R. C. Anthony elected to occupy the Chair; which he accepted with a few appropriate remarks upon the objects of the meeting; [illegible] Lt. C. E. Page was appointed Secretary; the illumination from the large log-wood fire not being sufficient for the Secretary to take down the minutes, it was suggested by Lt. Coombs [illegible] [illegible] up as [illegible] at once and go down to Maj. Gray's No. 1 Park Row and procure a candle, which was soon brought in by Lt. E. Kerby, and the meeting proceeded at once to business.

Capt. Thomason arose and remarked that Lt. Col. A. J. H. Duganne would present, in case of a Celebration on the 22d of Feb. a Poem. A General Committee of 15 was accordingly appointed by the Chair, for the purpose of completing all necessary arrangements: viz:

Col. J. S. BURREL,	Capt. T. L. Sprott,
Maj. J. Gray,	" D. Torrey,
Capt. S. G. Bailey,	" J. Dilingham,
" W. P. Coe,	" A. N. Proctor,
" A. Johnson,	" F. W. Noblett,
" S. E. Thomason,	Lieut. B. F. Wright,
" U. W. Washburn	" Cox,
Lt. C. C. McDowell	

After the appointing of this Committee, Capt. J. Dilingham desired to know how this Committee were to be sustained Financially; upon which it was decided that a proper Committee should call upon the Public by way of subscription for a Fund sufficient to accomplish all that could be done towards making this celebration a day one to be remembered with pleasure long years after the present struggle for Liberty and Union shall have gone by, and we returned again to the peaceful walks of life! Dilingham then moved an adjournment, for the meeting of the Committee immediately following. After a vote to that effect had been taken its adjournment was declared by the Chair.

Those of the meeting not belonging to the Committee appointed at once left the hall, with the exception of Our-Selves, who remained as Reporter for the "Flag."

Col. Burrel, who had been sent for as soon as appointed to the Chair, now made his appearance, gave thanks and acknowledged the honor conferred upon him, but thought one of fewer years than himself, whose sands of life — now nearly run out, might better have been chosen from among so many gentlemen of legal and literary attainments present, of which he possessed none; that he was in favor of the object of keeping up the birth day of the Father of our Country — and after a few touching remarks on our Homes far away, accepted the position.

Capt. May was then voted Secretary of the Committee.

Capt. Bailey introduced a Resolution, appointing a Sub-Committee consisting of three, on Poems and Orations, which was carried; and the Chair appointed Capt. Bailey, Capt. S. E. Thomason, and Capt. Johnson. Captain B then presented a Resolution that another Committee be appointed to attend to the procuring of Vocal and Instrumental Music — carried, and Captains Coe, Washburn, and Proctor were appointed. Following which Capt. Thomason introduced a Resolution appointing a Committee of Five on Toasts, carried and Messrs. Capt. Captains Torrey, Dilingham, Baily and Lt. Wright were appointed. Capt. S. E. T. now presented a resolution to the effect that a Committee consisting of five be appointed whose duty shall be to select the grounds for Speaking and make such other small arrangements as necessary; and to form the Programme — carried, and Capts. Johnson, McDowell, S[illegible]tt, Noblett and Lt Cox were appointed. Moved by Capt. Bailey that the President of the General Committee act as general adviser on all Sub-Committees — carried. Capt. Dilingham suggested that the Chairman, Col. Burrel, act as Marshal of the Day on the 22d — carried unanimously. Here it was moved by Capt. B'y that the Secretary read the names of the Committees appointed, which was done. In agreement with a motion by Capt. Washburn, the subject of Refreshments was left to the care of the Committee on Toasts.

A Resolution introduced by Capt. Bailey, that a committee on Finance be appointed consisting of three, was carried, and Maj. R. C. Anthony, Maj. J. Gray and Capt. F. W. Noblett were appointed thereon; to which the Chairman was afterwards added.

After a short discussion upon various minor topics a Resolution moving an adjournment until Friday Eve'g at 7 o'clock, was made, all sub-Committees then to report progress. Carried, and the meeting declared adjourned.

* * *

In accordance with the adjournment of the meeting of the 17th at Unfounded Hall, the Committee again met, but adjourned again until the following morning, for the purpose of consulting in the mean time with the Col. Commanding the Post. On the morning of the next day they again held a brief session, when the improbability of successfully carrying out the Programme of the first meeting became evident; an adjournment followed soon after its organization, to come together again Saturday evening at 7 o'clock. At that hour the Committee again met, when the Sub-Committee on Refreshments reported it impossible to procure with love or money, the necessary Refreshments. At 10 o'clock A.M. on Monday morning the Committee met for the last time, a few pleasant remarks were indulged in, and adjourned sine-die.

THE CELEBRATION!

At about eleven o'clock A.M. of the 22d of February, the buildings and Streets about Fifth Avenue and 42d Street were literally lined with the "Yanks" assembled preparatory to some remarks from Lt. Col. J. B. Leake, and in anticipation of a treat in the form of an original Poem from Lt. Col. A. J. H. Duganne.

In the remarks made by Lt. Col. Leake, was exhibited and communicated through the entire assembly a flow of pure patriotism, and was virtually a powerful appeal to all to imitate the glorious example shown in the life of Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON: to remain in the hour of trial and darkness to the great cause, firm and true to the principles of the Government and to its administrators — placing faith in the moral power on the side of the Union, for finally coming success, and its restoration more powerful as a Nation than ever before. It was no elaborate and prepared Oration, yet lacked nothing in interest or delivery from the fact of its being extempore.

At the conclusion of this address Lt. Col. A. J. H. DUGANNE arose and delivered the following Poem, which was rendered in the most affecting style. Any remarks even though we had the room in this number of our paper, were useless to our readers, as the Poem itself aside from the name of its author, is sufficient in its praise.

WASHINGTON.

WHO bids me sing! What theme my soul dilates!
A Captive, whispering to its captive mates?
Can Glory's raptures thrill the fettered thralls,
Whose captured banners droop from Treason's walls!
Can Valor's story nerve the shackled hands
Whose broken sword-blades rust in rebel sands
Or lifted, vengeful, threat with cruel strife
Our Country's Union and our Freedom's life!
In vain my harp the charms of home would sing
Quick-gathering tears from answering eyelids spring
And all the heart's deep sorrow, softly stirred,
O'er-whelms our manhood at that one dear word
Home, where the wife sits, wondering, day by day,
The long, long hours that steal her hopes away;
With low-drawn sigh, and voiceless prayer, to wait
The step that comes not to her lonely gate.
Home, where the children, prattling War's acclaim,
Through mimic trumpets, lisp their father's name;
But, wondering, pause, to note with childish fears
The eyes that watch them, dim with sudden tears,
And, trembling, ask, of lips that must be dumb,
Why mother weeps! why Father will not come?

Dear home! sweet home! how many a warm heart beats—
How many a lip the loved one's name repeats,
Where Maine exults on stormy ocean's brim,
And Hampshire lifts to Heaven her mountain hymn;
Where Massachusetts sits, like matron free,
And fair Rhode Island slumbers at her knee;
Where dwells Connecticut, midst emerald vales,
And where Manhattan spreads her snowy sails,
And rolls her iron chariot-wheels, and shakes
Her golden garners o'er the Northern lakes.

God bless our homes — from East through boundless West,
The hallowed shrines of all the heart loves best!
From blue Ohio to Colorado's marge,
And over Iowa's prairies, green and large,
And where the winding Illinois outflows,
Or Indiana with silvery harvest glows,
And fair Arkansas skirts the Indian strand,
And where the red man's loyal wigwams stand—
There sleep our homes, where tender hearts, like doves,
Brood o'er the memory of their absent loves!

Awake, my Harp! Thy song to Heaven aspires—

The Old Flag

Vol. 1. FORD CITY, MARCH 13th, 1864. No. 2

[Written Expressly for the OLD FLAG]

HIGH-BIRD;

—OR,—

THE LEAGUE OF BLOOD!

A TALE OF THE MYSTERIES AND MISERIES OF FORD CITY, TEXAS.

BY MEIGH, D. K.

CHAPTER 1.

THE MIDNIGHT PROWLER.

Hark! dost hear the thunder roll?
Johnny, fill up the bowl!

It was the still hour of midnight! The winds of a Texas norther whistled a mournful dirge at the doors of the shebangs of the inhabitants of Ford City, and the weary conscript more closely hugged—not the old flint-lock, but—the large log fire, blazing on his beat, while the Sergent of the Guard, wrapped his carpet-blanket still closer about his aged form, dreaming of

"The days of yore,
When he had more
Of Flour and meat,
Than he could eat,"

and d——d the "S. C."

At this lonely hour "a man might have been seen slowly wending his way" through the now quiet streets of this Yankee City. He was wrapped in a Confederate blanket, drawn closely about his face as a protection against the biting wind and sleet. Let us follow this man. Why does he dodge behind that large chimney! Ah! here comes that faithful guardian of the night—Watchman Hayley—it must be him this mysterious person avoids encountering.

"Past 12 o'clock and all is sully!" is the Watchman's cry, as he passes up Fifth Avenue, and is soon lost to view.

Now the mysterious night-prowler resumes his way, crosses a portion of Park Square and passing around to the rear of a low, one-story building, signals those within for admission.

One! two! three knocks, and a deep moan—a chicken crows within—the stranger answers by a noise much resembling the squeal of a pig!—the door is opened, and he disappears from our view.

CHAPTER II.

THE LOVIERS AND THE CRUEL PARIENT.

THE "God of Day" had sunk to rest behind a mountain of fire and pale Luna—if we remember correctly—on this occasion arose in the East.

"Seated in a fine arm-chair which was "for strength of back and durability of bottom a master-piece" in front of the Fifth Avenue House, was our lovely heroine, Miss Julia Wilhemona Dalmah, engaged in the delicious pastime of smoking a pipe!

Many the aspirant for that hand had she turned away; among them one who had loved her almost to madness! This man—of powerful frame, and an immense beard, nearly reaching to the eyes—was well known as HIGH-BIRD: he had sworn a fearful oath, that on him she placed her best hearts affections, his vengeance should fall, and the fair girl trembled for the life of her darling Phree Manahase.

We would describe our lovely heroine, but knowing our inability to do her beauty of mind or person justice can only refer the reader to that portion of Milton's "Paradise Lost" which describes her mother—Eve, and desire them to apply the same to Julia.

Her gaze is fixed on a form coming up the Avenue. It is a tall, majestic, noble person—as straight as a rail—graceful in carriage, and as handsome in feature as "Honest Old Abe himself"!

With a winning smile he flourishes a white handkerchief, bows his head with the grace of a mule, and with a meaning glance, passes by.

Directly she rises from her seat of ease, rushes into the house, and soon after appears, with her bonnet on, and slowly and gracefully meanders up the street in the direction the handsome youth has gone. She is passing through Shin-bone Alley, when he again appears rather to her side, seizes her delicate fin, and clasps her to his gizard in an extacy of bliss!

"My precious Julia Wilhemona!"

"My darling Phree Manahase!"

"Hark! a step, me-thought I heard!" cried Phree.

"I tremble lest pa mistrust us," responded the happy girl.

"O! that I had wealth—he would then own me worthy you. But the day will come when he will be proud to own the now humble merchant as son-in-law! Know, darling, I have a plan laid for honors and riches! I feel, dearest, that I am a ——"

"SCOUNDREL!" cried the proud parient, suddenly showing himself in a towering passion. "Away! you d——d land-shark, and if I catch you cruising about these waters again, I'll hang you to a Black Jack as sure as my name is BRINEY AMOS!"

CHAPTER III.

THE LEAGUE OF BLOOD!

WE left the midnight prowler at the door of a suspicious looking house on Park Square; we will enter where he did at the close of our first Chapter, as there is that occurring within which greatly concerns our story.

Seated around a large, long table were a half dozen as villainous looking set of men as ever met for hellish purpose.

As the new-comer stepped into their midst, they all arose and cried,

"Welcome, worthy Chieftain! All hail!"

"No!" responded the gruff voice, "nothing but a cold rain—no hail!"

As he gave utterance to this reply, he flung from him the Confederate blanket, and revealed the compacted form of HIGH-BIRD!

"Now," said he, "I have a job to be done, and will admit on the start, that I want none to engage with me in this work but those whose hearts are of iron, and whose hands grow stronger and more bloody at the flow of blood."

"Blood! Blood!" cried one after another, in amazement, if not somewhat of horror.

"Ay! Blood! Red life-blood must flow!! Come, are ye old women that ye must needs repeat that five lettered word. I want volunteers—step forward those who would belong to HIGH-BIRD'S League of Blood!"

At once the whole moved forward as one man, and the Chief cried,

"Tis well—let it be so recorded!"

Then stepping to the table on which stood a large iron kettle filled with hot drink, each one filled his cup, raised it over his head, while the Chief rendered, and they repeated after him the following:

"To the League of Blood: may the first blood shed under its new leader be a warning to all interlopers hereafter who may deem it safe to cross the path of HIGH-BIRD, to [illegible]!"

All drank and caroused until the "small hours" were gone, and the last drop of that intoxicating Texian drink—Rye Coffee—was drunk.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOWER 'MILLION!!

AT early candle-light that notorious Dance House of John, Son & Co., UNDAUNTED HALL, Corner of Battery Place and Shin-bone Alley, began to fill with the Penny-men of the city, who, instead of remaining at their homes, entertaining and instructing their families by readings from the "Tyler Reporter" or playing chess, are to be found nightly in some of these bad places, dancing with lewd women—else at the Fifth Avenue House, playing at billiards, or on the pave making night hideous with their cries of debauchery.

The fiddler generally plays for his rum, getting disgustingly drunk, while a gay sport comes in on the banjo, winking at the g'hals and drinking—when not fighting—with the b'hoys.

The light of the great log fire lent a strange and ghostly appearance to the revellers, as they sat and stood grouped about the room. At every fling or "jump-Jim-Crow" of the dancers were drawn out fierce Texan yells, stamping of feet, encouragements by such exciting cries as "right smart!" "goin' old man!" "Bully for Mad Anthony!" &c. "Go in on the Gray mare!" and other immoral suggestions, or words to that effect—— when suddenly

A long, low, thrilling, shrilly shriek was heard!! All rushed to under the ponderous door, and emerging into the impenetrable darkness, beheld

"A sight to harrow up the soul—
Freeze the hot blood—
Make the wild eyes, like stars, start from their spheres
The knotted and combined locks to part
And each particular hair to stand on end
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine:"

CHAPTER V.

THE CONFLAGRATION.

It was a fearful, yet a splendid spectacle. In the midst of the impenetrable murk and Cimmerian gloom which enveloped all the district of Ford City a fierce and baleful light was shining with such horrid glare as to cause each rocky pavement of the streets to gleam like molten lava, boiling in asphaltic pitts of red bituminous Tartarus.

A terrific conflagration was raging

The entire block adjoining the UNDAUNTED HALL was wrapped in a blue sheet of mingled smoke and flame: over this blue sheet the distracted inmates were vainly endeavoring to cast a wet blanket. The entire chimney of that palatial mansion occupied by the Duke of Wellington, and his cook, was a prey to the devouring element: and at all the lofty casements might have been seen the startled inmates, wildly wringing their hands and exposing charms which ought to have soothed to mercy even the demon of Arson himself. Vainly waving her white kerchief for aid, could be discerned the amiable Lady Tomasina O'Dagn, then in an interesting situation—the result of her recent elopement—while at a dormer window, the Rt. Hon. Robin Red-breast, P.B., who writes for the "Texas Reporter" was endeavoring to reconcile himself to the impending fate, by chanting in a voice like the dying swan or poor Lo the Indian, a meek and plaintive ditty on the overturn of the cruel war. It was indeed a heart-rending scene! The stout hearts of our gallant firemen almost failed them at this crisis, but they were rallying at the stentorian shouts of Foreman Kerbee to repel the flames when, O! horror!—

A savage war whoop rang upon the midnight air!!

A legion of dusky forms danced defyingly around the flames, and the shuddering population of the city saw that they were surrounded by an invading war-party of Choctaws, Creeks and Cherokees.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RES Q !!!!!

TOMAHAWKS gleamed in the crimson light, and a chorus of yells and whoops affrighted every heart. A tall plumed Chieftain led the Cherokees,

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MISCELLANEOUS

"A Thrilling Leaf from the Log of an Old Whaler."—Our crew were a ~~young~~ and villainous looking set of fellows; they were the off-scourings from nearly every nation, and quarrelsome words and desperate oaths in all languages, might be heard at almost any time. They were agreed in nothing but to try and shirk all duty and hate their officers.

These never appeared on deck, or gave an order but they were met with black looks muttered curses, and other evidences of insubordination that gave me great uneasiness. My officers were fine young men, but very high spirited, and I felt that some indiscretion might at any time precipitate a serious collision—possibly a mutiny and blood-shed.

To prepare against this, I caused all the arms to be removed to my state-room, kept my pistols carefully loaded and always near at hand. I was on the alert constantly and seldom left the deck.

Matters remained in this state nearly the whole passage—but when we had doubled the Cape and entered the ~~[illegible]~~ sunshine and the gentle breezes of the latitudes seemed to influence even these savages, and better feelings prevailed.

Worne out by anxiety and watching I took the favorable opportunity to retire to my cabin where sleep soon overcame me, and dreams transported me to different and happier scenes. My anxious voyage was ended—I was approaching my home—all ready I could see my wife and little ones I streatched out my arm—when a terrific scream and scuffling on deck brought me to my senses, and in horrified amazement to my feet. Apparently the event I had so long feared was upon us. The crew, knowing that I was asleep, had improved the opportunity to seize on the officers and take the ship. Those screams were no doubt from my murdered officers, and the same fate now awaited me! The dear faces of which I had dreamed, I should never see more, and only after years of heavy heart-sick waiting would they learn my sad fate.

Overwhelmed with dispair, but determined to sell my life dearly, I seized my pistols and rushed on deck. Gracious heavens!! what a sight met my eyes! Blood covered the decks—horror was in every eye. The cook, a fine looking Italian, stood over the fallen body, waving his long, gleaming knife, now crimsoned to the hilt! As he caught sight of me, he fell back, and I hastened to examine if life still remained, but alas! the blow was fatal—the pig was dead!

Death in our Boarding.—In Ford City, on the night of March 4th, 1864, a youthful Pig—death caused by an over dose of Col. Nott's specific "The Lion of the Day!" taken for the purpose of committing sow-i-cide.—[Too much care cannot be exercised in the use of Sumac, as its narcotic and stupefying effects have been experienced by many.] In reference to the deceased pig—we recommend that its remains be deposited in the tomb of that other tender martyr, the "pig Jim."

To our readers who are interested in Exchange, we are happy to be able to announce that Mr. King the Confederate Commissioner of exchange, has returned to Camp Ford, and has had an interview with our esteemed friend, Mr. Rosson, the Federal Agent of exchange. Mr. R—— assures us that he has strong hopes of soon effecting an arrangement by which we will be released from imprisonment and restored to our friends.

We have heard it suggested that as soon after the return of the prisoners of this place to N.O. a Ball be given, called "Prisoner's Union Ball."

Written for the Old Flag.

STANZAS.—To CLIANTHE.

Clianthe! while in lonesome thought,
I light my pipe, and smoke serenely,
I think of thee, with grace, so fraught,
With gentle brow and presence queenly.

A Federal bachelor, am I,
Who pines for one fond hearts communion
I pray thee list a captive's sigh,
And let me win you to the —Union!

Methinks my hut a hall would be,
Were I in thy sweet heart a lodger,
And one bright smile of thine on me,
Would sweeten e'en my cold corn-dodger!

But true love ne'er runs smooth they say,
And fate with me has waged a quarrel;
One only sun-beam lights my way—
'Tis when thy feet trips thro' our corral.

Clianthe come! thou tender maid—
My jealous heart feels pangs eternal,
And Oh! don't stop at the stockade
To whisper to that other Colonel!

I'll bet two dollars and a half,
He seeks to win thy favor regal—
But at his rank, I scornful laugh,
He wears a Leaf and I an Eagle!

I've carved for thee a wond'rous bowl,
A goblet half, and half salt cellar;
And thee I'll pledge, my tender soul,
In sumach strong—my cloud dispeller.

Come, and I'll sit thee by my side,
And drink thy smiles like sunny weather,
A bran new chair I've made, so wide,
'Twill hold us both, dear maid, together!

CHAWLES

For the Old Flag.

LINES on the DEPARTURE of "ROSA"

Farewell, old friend! dear partner of my toil!
Go browse abroad and scour the Texan soil,
With lightsome hoof the turfy prairies tread,
And leave thy master in his lonely shed.

Ungrateful world! that still misfortune lends!
Remorseless fate! that parts congenial friends:
My mule departs—my Rosa flies my sight,
And leaves this tender heart to withering blight

How oft, enamored of thy growing charms,
I've borne thee corn-husks in my trembling arms
How oft I've kissed thy cheeks and striven to trace,
As in a mirror, my own form and face!

Thy cause was mine, thy rights I deemed my own,
For day by day our sympathies had grown;
And when surrounding boors disdained thy form
To me thou camest, and found a kinsman warm

What though thy fairy feet the garden spurned
And many an embryo plant in mirth upturned
What though thy youthful sports disturbed the ground
Till base born peasants on thy presence frowned

They knew thee not—they could not know nor feel
The charms that thou to me would oft reveal.
Natures like thine all common contact spurn
Till love like mine, unites two souls in one!

Farewell, dear Rosa! far away thou goest—
Even in the hour I learned to prize thee mo-est!
The gates have closed behind thy waving rear—
I carve my pipes, and drop a briney Tear!

AMOS.

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CS

An Applied Social Science: Journalism Education and Professionalization, 1900-1955

Brad Asher
University of Chicago
Department of History

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I. Introduction

The major schools of journalism in the United States established themselves during the first twenty-five years of this century. Over the next thirty years, this elite group of schools attempted to make a degree from a professional school of journalism the required credential for all aspiring journalists. They fought not only against traditional on-the-job methods of training, but also against journalism schools that did not share their vision of professional education. By the mid-1950s, these conflicts had led to a stalemate: There remained in place a number of alternative routes into journalism and a number of different philosophies of journalism education. This paper will analyze both the formative period in journalism education and the conflicts of the later period. It will focus mainly on newspaper journalism, as this was the educators' overriding concern.

Journalism schools formed an important part of a broader professionalizing project within journalism. This project emerged in response to criticism of the press during the Progressive Era and beyond. The elite schools' vision of professional education therefore had moral and political overtones that reflected the tumultuous times of its birth.[1]

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[1] Clifford G. Christians, et. al., "Community, Epistemology and Mass Media Ethics," Journalism History 5 (1978), 38-40; Margaret Blanchard, "Press Criticism and National Reform Movements: The

A study of journalism schools also lays bare some important aspects of the professionalization process. Historians and sociologists frequently point out the cooperative relationship between professional schools and professional associations within occupations.[2] In journalism, unlike medicine or law, no strong alliance emerged between the industry and the elite professional schools. Thus no system could be established whereby a small group of schools regulated entry into the occupation.

Journalism historians have not paid a good deal of attention to journalism education as yet. The dominant interpretation remains the whiggish one that, until very recently, dominated the history of journalism.[3] Education was taken as simply another signpost on the road to a more responsible and more independent press.[4] The

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Progressive Era and the New Deal," Journalism History 5 (1978), 33-37, 54.

[2] See, for example, Paul Starr, The Social Transformation of American Medicine (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 117-123; Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 202; Michael Schudson, "The Flexner Report and the Reed Report: Notes on the History of Professional Education in the United States," Social Science Quarterly 55 (1974), 350-351; Harold Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" American Journal of Sociology 70 (1964), 145-146.

[3] James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," Journalism History 1 (1974), 3-5, 27; Joseph P. McKerns, "The Limits of Progressive Journalism History," Journalism History 4 (1977), 88-92.

[4] See, for example, Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690-1940 (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941), 488-489, 604-605, 727-728; Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretative History of Journalism (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 735-740.

revisionist tendencies that have enlivened journalism history in the past ten years have addressed journalism education only indirectly in their critical examinations of the notions of objectivity, sensationalism and social responsibility.[5]

It should be noted that this is not the history of any particular school. Each worked out the educational issues for itself; no doubt the dividing lines were not as sharply drawn in the minds of the educators as they will be presented here. Nonetheless, the analysis to follow captures the major trends in the history of journalism education during this period.

II. The Formative Period

Education for journalists was not an entirely new idea at the end of the nineteenth century. Proposals for journalism education can be found as far back as 1864.[6] But of the scattering of courses established prior to 1900, few proved enduring. The big boost for separate institutions providing instruction for journalists came in

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[5] Of particular note are Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Dan Schiller, Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and their Influence on the News," Journalism History 7 (1980), 1-10. In a recent article, David Paul Nord called for a renewed focus on the institutional history of journalism, and a move away from a broad communications-based history. If Nord's call is heeded, education for journalism may receive more attention than in the past. David Paul Nord, "A Plea for Journalism History," Journalism History 15 (1988), 8-15.

[6] In 1914, The Independent reprinted a letter to the editor dated 1864 recommending the establishment of a school for newspaper editors. The Independent, June 5, 1914, pp. 480-481.

1903, when Joseph Pulitzer announced a $2 million bequest to Columbia University to establish a school of journalism. Quarrels between Pulitzer and Columbia over the exact institutional arrangements, however, prevented the school's opening until 1912, after Pulitzer's death. The time lapse allowed the University of Missouri to claim the honor of establishing the first separate school of journalism, which opened its doors in 1908.[7]

By 1925, most of the leading journalism programs had been established, either as separate schools or as separate programs within other schools. This core group of 32 schools dominated the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ), founded in 1917.[8] This organization was the strongest advocate for a system of elite professional schools that would strictly regulate entry into journalism.

Some scholars have attributed this flurry of school-building to a simple response to the demand for employees by an expanding newspaper industry.[9] However, the census figures do not support such an explanation. Between 1900 and 1920, the occupational category of "editors and reporters" grew by only slightly more than 4,000 people, from 30,038 to 34,197.[10] Such modest growth obviously discounts any market-based explanation for the initial emergence of journalism schools.

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[7] Albert Alton Sutton, Education for Journalism in the United States from Its Beginning to 1940 (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1945), 7-13; De Forest O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States (New York: Columbia University Teachers' College, 1935), 1-96; Don Carlos Seitz, "Episodes in the School's Prehistory--Landmarks in the Lengthy Struggle," in Heinz-Dietrich Fischer and Christopher Trump, Education in Journalism: The 75th Anniversary of Joseph Pulitzer's Ideas at Columbia University (1904-1979) (Bochum, West Germany: Studienverlag Brockmeyer, 1980), 63-92.

[8] Edwin Emery and Joseph McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making: A History of Organizing for Journalism and Mass Communications Education in the United States," Journalism Monographs 104 (1987), 1; Sutton, Education for Journalism, pp. 26-27, 36-38.

A market-based explanation has more validity for the period after 1920. Overlapping with but largely following in the wake of the core schools, journalism schools soon began appearing all over the country. By 1940, Albert Sutton counted 542 colleges and universities offering instruction in journalism, although only 103 of these offered majors or degrees in journalism.[11] According to the census, that 20-year period witnessed a tremendous expansion in the "editors and reporters" category, which reached 58,253 in 1940.[12] The large increase in the number of institutions offering journalism instruction would be one of the AASDJ's main problems in trying to regulate access to journalism.

Since a simple employment expansion model does not explain the emergence of journalism schools, other reasons must be sought. Of major importance is the most mundane reason of all: money. Since huge fortunes could now be amassed through journalism, there were funds available for the establishment of journalism schools. Pulitzer's bequest was surely the most notable, but there are numerous other examples.[13] In addition, money brought more political clout to state press associations, which persuaded state legislatures to appropriate funds for journalism education at state universities in New Jersey, Illinois and Missouri, among others.[14]

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[9] William R. Lindley, Approaches of Selected American Universities to the Education of Journalists (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1970), 9-10; James W. Carey, "A Plea for the University Tradition," Journalism Quarterly 55 (1978), 848.

[10] Cited in Lindley, Approaches, p. 10.

[11] Sutton, Education for Journalism, 18-21.

[12] Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, vol.3, pt. 1, The Labor Force (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 75. Lindley cites an even higher figure for 1940. Lindley, Approaches, p. 10.

The mere availability of financing, of course, does not explain why that money was used to establish schools of journalism. To understand fully the formative period of journalism education, the best place to start is the Progressive critique of the press that took shape between 1900 and World War I, and reappeared in slightly altered form after the war. The press, of course, has always had its critics, but the Progressive period is generally seen to be one of the three major periods of press criticism in this country.[15]

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[13] A partial list would include the Tribune Company's continuing financial support for Northwestern's Medill School, Minnesota Tribune publisher William Murphy's $350,000 bequest to the University of Minnesota, and Ward Neff's donation to the University of Missouri for a separate journalism building. See Sara Lockwood Williams, Twenty Years of Education for Journalism (Columbia, Missouri: E.W. Stephens Publishing, 1929), 36; Lindley, Approaches, p. 28; H.F. Harrington memorandum, February 7, 1931, Medill School of Journalism Papers (MSJP), Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History"; Richard Kendrick, "An Outline History of the Medill School of Journalism from 1930-34," (unpublished term paper, 1939), MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.

[14] Williams, Twenty Years of Education for Journalism, 15-22; Lindley, Approaches, p. 48; Sutton, Education for Journalism, p. 12.

This critique rested on the charge that the press served class interests at the expense of the republic. Throughout the period, this same theme would be expressed in a variety of different ways. The strongest variant was that the press was in the pocket of the moneyed interests of society. Since publishing had become a rich man's game, publishers shared the values of the upper classes and shaped the content of their papers accordingly. In addition, the press was held hostage by big business because of newspaper dependence on advertising revenues. One of the most influential of such criticisms was Upton Sinclair's The Brass Check. Sinclair's polemic on the prostitution of the press went through six printings in its first year for a total of over 100,000 copies.[16]

After World War I, this strain of criticism took a further turn. Now the press was less a willing accomplice in propping up the interests of the moneyed class and more a manipulable instrument. The war had demonstrated the power of press agents and propaganda, and business and government leaders increasingly filtered relations with the press through their public relations men. Shut out from their sources, newspapers simply reprinted the

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[15] The other two periods are the 1830s and the 1960s. See Schudson, Discovering the News; Schiller, Objectivity and the News, p. 187.

[16] Upton Sinclair, The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism, (Pasadena, California: By the author, 1920); Problems of Journalism, 1924 Proceedings, American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), p. 115.

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biased information provided by press agents.[17]

Reformist elements within the press, along with the nascent group of journalism educators, accepted many of the critics' charges. They also agreed with the critics' major premise: A more public-spirited press was vital to a healthy democracy. "The present crisis of western democracy," Walter Lippmann wrote in 1920, "is a crisis in journalism."[18] Public opinion needed to be made truly public, not representative of a particular class interest. Such an improvement in public opinion, given the belief in the direct and instrumental effect of the press, could be obtained almost automatically by improving newspapers.[19]

Journalism educators and press reformers advocated a specific way to achieve this improvement: professionalization. To improve journalism required an improved breed of journalist, one that adhered to a professional standard of disinterested public service. This improved journalist would require special training in the ethics and methods of professional journalism--a task which was to be the privileged responsibility of the journalism schools. This line of thought is laid out clearly in the statement of "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" adopted by the AASDJ at its 1924 annual meeting. "Because of the importance of newspapers and periodicals to society and government, adequate preparation is as necessary for all persons who desire to engage in journalism as it is for those who intend to practice law or medicine. No other profession has a more vital relation to the welfare of society and to the success of democratic government than has journalism."[20]

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[17] Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 136-141. For a prominent educator's critique of the system of promotion men, see Eric W. Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics for Journalists," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 101 (1922), 174.

[18] Cited in Schiller, Objectivity and the News, p. 191.

[19] See, for example, Northwestern University President Walter Dill Scott's conception of the mission of the Medill School of Journalism in an undated press release and Scott's speech at the dedication of Medill School, February 8, 1921, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.

Greater professionalism, of course, also found favor with press critics, but few trusted that it would develop on its own. Most advocated a menu of other remedies. Sinclair wanted legal restrictions on the press and the breakup of the Associated Press as a monopoly. The distribution of news to American newspapers should be declared a "public utility, under public control." He also recommended a publicly-endowed national newspaper and city- and state-owned newspapers to end ownership of the press by the upper class, and public input on news policy.[21] The Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, although it issued its report in 1947, echoed many of the complaints of the earlier critics. It also hinted broadly that if the press did not shape up, public authorities would eventually compel it to do so.[22]

During the early part of the twentieth century, one student of the press has written, "a rather considerable fraction of articulate Americans began to demand certain standards of performance from the press. They threatened to enact legislation, even did enact it, if the press did not meet certain of those standards."[23] Professionalization, then, emerged as a response to the threat of public regulation of the press. Just as medicine and law had carved out autonomous areas of self-regulation, so would journalism. And as in medicine and law, professional schools would play a key role in the process.

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[20] "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 30.

[21] Sinclair, The Brass Check, 403-443.

[22] The Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), 5.

The hallmarks of the professionally trained journalist would be accuracy and context. Journalism would devote itself to relaying not only facts, but also a true understanding of society. It would thus keep its distance from both the masses and the interests; the truth would stand apart from any social class. Even after World War I, when the success of propaganda and public relations rendered the notion of an independent and objectively verifiable truth less tenable, journalists embraced an interpretive style of reporting that conveyed, if not the truth, at least an analysis that was not beholden to any particular social group.[24]

Journalism, in the words of Eric Allen, dean of the University of Oregon's school of journalism, should be "applied social science." The University of Wisconsin's Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, one of the most influential figures in the early history of journalism education, argued similarly that the purpose of journalism courses was to teach students how to "think straight" and "how to apply what they have learned to understanding and interpreting the day's news."[25]

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[23] Fred Siebert, et. al., Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 77.

[24] Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 134-159; Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics," p. 174.

These improved journalists would not shun crime news--the bane of those critics who derided the sensational press--but they would put it in proper context. In a 1925 address, educator Nelson Crawford said the function of the press regarding sensational material "should be not simply to tell of anti-social acts, and perhaps adopt the emotional reactions of the mob concerning them, but to analyze them, to point out their genesis and their significance. . . . The press at present deals largely with phenomena, which are likely to appear isolated and to be unintelligible without an understanding of their causes." Schools of journalism, Crawford advised, should provide reporters with such analytical ability.[26]

Professional education was just one prong of the response of the press to the Progressive critique. Professional organizations--most notably, the American Society of Newspaper Editors--also flowered during this period, as part of an effort to enforce collegial discipline. State press associations, journalism schools, and other press organizations promulgated a variety of ethics codes to define and regulate professional behavior.[27] According to communications historian Dan Schiller, this embrace of professionalism grew easily out of the traditions of the independent penny press, with its emphasis on the common good, as it had emerged in the 1830s. Perhaps more importantly, the rhetoric of professionalism shifted responsibility to the individual journalist, deflecting those critics who charged that the problem with journalism was systemic and structural.[28]

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[25] Eric W. Allen, "Journalism as Applied Social Science," Journalism Bulletin 4 (1927), 2; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism are Trying to Do," Journalism Quarterly 8 (1931), 39.

[26] Nelson Antrim Crawford, "Psychological Leadership for Journalism," The Journalism Bulletin 2 (1926), 4-5. Another example is provided by the Medill School's "newspaper of the future," a student exhibit in 1933. Crime news was buried in the inside pages and the stories focused on interpretation of the day's events. Don Hopkins, Jr., "A Short History of the Medill School of Journalism--1920 to 1934" (unpublished term paper, 1941?), MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.

Pulitzer's lengthy defense of his proposed school of journalism illustrates well this deflection. Pulitzer made a strict separation between the business end of journalism and the editorial end. The school of journalism would be concerned with only the latter. His proposed curriculum included nothing on the back-office of a newspaper--such as circulation or advertising. "My hope is that this College of Journalism will raise the standard of the editorial profession. But to do this it must mark the distinction between real journalists and men who do a kind of newspaper work that requires neither culture nor conviction, but merely business training."[29] While few schools adhered to Pulitzer's strictures against back-office courses in their curricula, they did so in their rhetoric.

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[27] Mott, American Journalism, p. 605; S. Gershanek and M.N. Ask, eds., Who's Who in Journalism (New York: Journalism Publishing Company, 1925), 332-338.

[28] Schiller, Objectivity and the News, pp. 194-195.

The role of the schools in this overall professionalization project was to restrict access to the occupation to those who were properly trained. When the American Society of Newspaper Editors formally endorsed the creation of professional schools in 1924, the educators lauded the decision in the pages of The Journalism Bulletin. "Nine-tenths of the battle for better journalism is won when the supply of reporters and editors is properly controlled and action of the kind taken is the biggest step toward proper attention to the supply because it recognizes one source and that source can impose high standards."[30]

III. The Schools' Strategy

The reasons why journalism schools emerged when they did can thus be traced back to the development of adequate financial resources and of a professionalizing project within the industry. The schools sought to restrict entry into the occupation to those who had received the proper training. The journalism degree was to become the required credential for employment.

Restricting access, however, became almost impossible with the rapid expansion of both journalism employment and the number of journalism schools from the 1920s onward. The elite group of schools affiliated with the AASDJ adopted a two-part strategy to combat these trends. First, they set themselves apart from the other schools by promoting a vision of "professional" journalism education that differed from the "trade school" orientation of the other schools. Second, they tried to bring practitioners in on their side by establishing an accrediting program that legitimated this type of "professional" education.

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[29] Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," The North American Review 178 (1904), pp. 656-657.

[30] "Progress," The Journalism Bulletin 2 (1925), 19. See also R. Justin Miller, "The Professional Spirit," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 7.

The first part of the elite schools' strategy depended on redefining the nature of the journalism curriculum. Typically, both the "trade" schools and the "professional" schools divided the curriculum into two parts: background courses taken in the university's social science departments and journalism courses taken in the journalism school. From Pulitzer onward, journalism educators had argued that the new breed of journalist required a broad liberal arts education. Since professional journalism emphasized the context of news, the curriculum of journalism schools would obviously have to include a heavy dose of the social sciences. The elite schools advocated a curriculum that was 75% social science courses and 25% journalism courses.[31]

Even Pulitzer, however, recognized the danger in that argument. If all a journalist needed was a broad education, then there was no need for a separate school of journalism. Educators

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[31] Sutton, Education for Journalism, p. 55; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," p. 5; Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," pp. 663-678.

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devised a number of ways out of this trap. Pulitzer maintained that journalists needed a special kind of training in the social sciences. They did not need to be versed in all the details of any particular discipline. The journalism schools could "divert, deflect, extract, concentrate" the content of those disciplines into a boiled-down version offering only as much as the journalist needed to know.[32]

A more feasible alternative was the general culture course. One of the first such efforts was Baker Brownell's course on Contemporary Thought at Northwestern. The course combined lectures by prominent people in a number of intellectual fields with weekly seminars to discuss the ideas raised by the speakers. It was meant to "coordinate the student's knowledge and to help him relate the fragments of his educational experience into an intelligible whole."[33] The general culture course thus contained an implicit critique of the compartmentalization of knowledge in the social sciences. By introducing such a course, a journalism school argued that the traditional liberal arts curriculum did not provide a general education, and that the journalism schools had to assume that responsibility themselves.[34]

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[32] Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," p. 649.

[33] Memo, Committee on Contemporary Thought to Harry F. Harrington, Director of the Medill School of Journalism, February 21, 1923, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 2, "Faculty Correspondence," Northwestern University Archives.

[34] See the course proposals, for example, in Allen, "Journalism as Applied Social Science," pp. 6-7; Thomas Stritch, "A New Program of Studies for a Department," Journalism Quarterly 28 (1951), 82-83.

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The real debate in journalism education, however, was not over the social science courses, but over the journalism courses. The elite schools sought to infuse these with the social sciences, to make them courses in "applied social science," to use Eric Allen's term. "Well-organized" reporting and editing courses, Bleyer wrote in 1931, provided the student an opportunity to apply knowledge gained in background courses. "Even a clever office-boy with no more than a common school education may learn how to get news and how to write a passable news story. The course in reporting in a school of journalism is devoted largely to an intensive study of local news and its significance. . . . Thus it serves to correlate the work of news gathering and news writing with what students have learned in psychology, economics, and similar subjects." The editorial writing course, Bleyer continued, was less a writing course and more a course in the scientific analysis of current events.[35]

It is difficult to underestimate Bleyer's importance in promoting this view of journalism education. Bleyer was chairman of the AASDJ's Council on Education for Journalism for the first eleven years of its existence (1923-34), and played a leading role in formulating the statement of "Standards and Principles." As part of his devotion to academically rigorous journalistic training, he also pushed hard for journalism schools to become more research-oriented. In 1921, he sponsored a resolution at a convention of journalism educators declaring that research should be a primary

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[35] Bleyer, "What the Schools Are Trying to Do," pp. 39-40.

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function of journalism schools. Although the convention approved only a lukewarm version of the resolution, it acceded to Bleyer's demands to create a Council of Research, with Bleyer as chairman. Perhaps most importantly, Bleyer's program at Wisconsin graduated a number of influential journalism educators, who carried the vision of a scientific journalistic discipline to other schools.[36]

The elite schools set off their "professional" approach to journalism education from the "trade school" orientation of many other schools. This newer crop of journalism schools tended to be found on the campuses of lesser-known state universities. The elite schools accused them of teaching techniques without understanding. Students were dispatched to cover stories, their articles were edited and criticized by faculty who were usually journalists themselves, and the students were sent out to cover another story. The students' background knowledge withered and became useless because the students did not apply it to daily practice. In the AASDJ's view, this type of training was wholly inadequate for the professional journalist. Thus the AASDJ's "Standards and Principles" inveighed against courses "concerned merely with developing proficiency in journalistic technique. The aims and methods of instruction should not be those of a trade school but should be of

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[36] The list of former Bleyer students who later became deans or directors of journalism schools includes, among others, Kenneth Olson of Northwestern, E. Marion Johnson and Ralph Casey of Minnesota, Lawrence W. Murphy of Illinois, and Chilton Bush of Stanford. Lindley, Approaches, pp. 29-97; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," pp. 5, 18-19.

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the same standard as those of other professional schools."

It is ironic that, given the AASDJ's haughtiness, most of the elite schools started with a similar trade-school orientation. They made only limited attempts to legitimate such practical courses academically by describing them as "laboratories" or "workshops."[38] By the 1920s, however, the elite schools were rejecting such purely practical training. The improvement of journalism required more than old journalists teaching young students the state of current practice. The point was to move beyond current practice. While they retained the practical trappings of city room, student newspaper, and enforced deadline, the elite schools began to call for less reliance on practicing journalists as faculty and for more attention to academic credentials. Recruiting teachers on the basis of experience alone, one writer concluded, "will never produce 'the great American journalist.'"[39]

The case of Northwestern's Medill School provides an interesting example of the tensions involved in the evolution from practical to professional. Dean Kenneth Olson was the architect of the transformation. Looking back on his 16 years at the helm in 1953, he wrote with satisfaction to Northwestern's Dean of

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[37] "Principles and Standards," p. 32. See also L.N. Flint, "Comparing Notes on Courses," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 54.

[38] Henry Farrand Griffin, "Copy!," The Outlook, February 22, 1913, p. 428; Lindley, Approaches, p. 94.

[39] P.I. Reed, "The Ph.D. Calibre," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 44. See also Frank Scott, "Significance of the Ph.D.," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 88; Leslie Higginbotham, "Practice vs. Ph.D.," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 10-12.

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Faculties that he had broken the curriculum away from "an entirely technical education." Under Olson, Medill's program combined broad background in the social sciences with rigorous professional training in journalism courses that were "not just technique courses, but courses in applied social science."[40]

Olson, however, was saddled with an immensely popular downtown division that offered almost purely technical courses. The downtown division had been the heart of Medill's early existence, offering evening classes to working and aspiring journalists. When Olson took over as Dean, downtown enrollments were four times greater than those on the Evanston campus, but well over half of the students were only high school graduates. It was irresponsible to "open wide the doors" to journalism education, Olson said, just as it was irresponsible for medical and law schools to permit unqualified students to take their courses. "Our main show must be out here on the Evanston campus building a strong professional school," Olson said.[41]

Olson could not eliminate the school outright, as it yielded about a $20,000 annual profit, but he abolished the certificate in journalism which had been awarded to students who successfully completed the prescribed regimen of technical courses. The certificate was indistinguishable from a diploma, Olson said, and

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[40] Olson to Dean of Faculties Payson Wild, November 10, 1953, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 5, "Correspondence," Northwestern University Archives.

[41] "Statement of the Needs of the Medill School of Journalism," 1939, MSJP, No Box #, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers," Northwestern University Archives.

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the school should not be supplying newspapers with "men and women who had only the flimsy educational background represented by this diploma program." He also downgraded the status of the Chicago campus to an audit extension division.[42]

Perhaps because of their own past, the AASDJ schools were particularly touchy about the charge that journalism schools were just vocational schools teaching the tricks of the trade. Such charges persisted throughout the period,[43] triggering forceful denials by the elite schools. The time period in which mere technical courses had predominated had passed, they claimed; journalism schools were now truly professional schools.[44]

The ultimate expression of the professional curriculum came in the 1930s, with the movement to transform journalism schools into graduate level professional schools. The elite schools had long held it as an ideal to require all entering students to hold bachelor's degrees. A number of schools had previously offered master's degrees, but these were mainly aimed at aspiring journal-

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[42] Ibid.

[43] In fact, they have continued until the present day. A 1984 report by a journalism education task force funded by the Gannett Foundation found that many schools were "little more than industry-oriented trade schools." Stephen White, "Why Journalism Schools?" The Public Interest 82 (1986), 56.

[44] See Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press, p. 78; "The New Bulletin," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 23; Joseph Myers, "What Have the Schools Done?" The Journalism Bulletin 2 (1925), pp. 1-2; Stritch, "A New Program of Studies," pp. 81-82; "Statement of Needs of the Medill School of Journalism," 1937, MSJP, No Box #, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers;" Press release, May 26, 1947, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 4, "Press Releases: 1921-," Northwestern University Archives.

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ism teachers. The goal now was to make the master's the terminal professional degree, requiring a year or two of professional training.[45]

The Pulitzer School at Columbia restricted its year-long program in journalism to B.A. holders in 1935. Northwestern followed in 1937, when it eliminated its bachelor's degree in journalism, and began to offer only the master's. Although Medill's Dean Olson would look back on the creation of the "five-year program" as his preeminent contribution to the Medill curriculum, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it failed in most respects. There were only two years in which no bachelor's degrees in journalism were awarded--1940 and 1941. In 1942, Olson restored the bachelor's degree owing to the war emergency, but advised that the five-year plan would be "put into full effect again as soon as the war is over." However, the bachelor's degree was not eliminated after the war. Indeed, it grew steadily, from one awarded in 1942 to 80 in 1948. Throughout the world of journalism education, in fact, the bachelor's has remained the standard journalism degree.[46]

Taken to its final conclusion, the downplaying of the technical side of journalism courses by the elite schools put the

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[45] "Toward Higher Standards," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 19; Eric Allen, "Presidential Address: Medical Schools, Law Schools and Schools of Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 8 (1931), 196-203.

[46] Emery, The Press and America, p. 738; "Summary of Proposed Plan for Reorganization of Medill School of Journalism," 1937; "Proposed Program for Restoration of Bachelor's Degree in Journalism," undated, MSJP, No Box #, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers"; Olson to Dean of Faculties Payson Wild, November 10, 1953, MSJP, Box #16, Folder 5, "Correspondence," Northwestern University Archives.

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onus of practical training back on the newspapers themselves. In a review of the schools' achievements in 1925, an article in the Bulletin pointed out that most schools had realized that "the mere mechanics of newspaper work can best be taught in the shop." Stanford's journalism school director proclaimed that "it is the job of the newspaper itself to train its craftsmen."[47]

As the elite schools thus tried to distance their curriculum from that of the trade schools, they simultaneously worked to establish the hegemony of their professional vision through control of journalism school accrediting. The elite schools noted with approval the successful efforts of the medical profession in stemming the proliferation of medical schools, and they waged a similar battle to limit the number of schools that offered journalism degrees.[48]

In its early days, the AASDJ had simply appointed itself the accrediting authority for journalism education. Membership in the Association was by invitation only, and invitation was contingent on adherence to AASDJ standards for journalism education. This self-assumed accrediting function was soon formally recognized by various higher education organizations, and the AASDJ members took

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[47] Myers, "What Have the Schools Done?" p. 1; Lindley, Approaches, p. 88. See also Stritch, "A New Program of Studies," p. 83.

[48] "Too Many Schools?" The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 61; George Turnbull, "The Comparative Size of the Journalism Field," Journalism Quarterly 8 (1931), 224-234; "The AASDJ Accepts New Accrediting Policy," Journalism Quarterly 22 (1945), 40; Allen, "Presidential Address," p. 198; "Building Schools of Medicine," The Journalism Bulletin 1 (1924), 99-102; "Convention Proceedings, American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 24 (1947), 79.

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to referring to themselves as "Class A" schools of journalism.[49] The Bulletin lauded these efforts, urging in a 1924 editorial that "schools of limited resources and limited size" should assume the role of pre-professional schools, channeling promising students to "institutions with full Class A rating."[50]

In the 1930s, the AASDJ moved to gain greater legitimacy for its accrediting program by gaining the participation of practitioners. In 1930, after receiving expressions of support from various professional associations, the AASDJ formed a joint council--composed of five AASDJ educators and one member each from the five main professional associations[51]--to establish a framework for accreditation. In 1945, the AASDJ relinquished its self-appointed accrediting role to this council, which vested power in a seven-member accrediting committee. Four of the seven members were to be educators from AASDJ schools.[52]

The AASDJ thus ceded its unilateral accrediting power to a more representative body, but retained its dominant voice in setting educational standards. It had also strengthened its ties with the industry, gaining greater legitimacy for itself as the

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[49] "The AASDJ Accepts New Accrediting Policy," p. 34; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," p. 1.

[50] "Too Many Schools?" p. 61

[51] The five professional associations were the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, the Inland Daily Press Association and the National Editorial Association.

[52] "The AASDJ Accepts New Accrediting Policy," pp. 39-40, 43-44; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," pp. 1, 32.

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exclusive arbiter of journalistic qualifications. Reflecting this new sense of legitimacy, the organization made membership automatic for all accredited schools, and in 1948 it changed its name from the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism to the Association of Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism.[53]

Sensing that they were being squeezed out, the trade schools rebelled. In 1944, fourteen non-AASDJ schools formed a rival association (the American Society of Journalism School Administrators). The new association rallied around the banner of freedom in journalism education and presented itself as the champion of "medium-sized grassroots journalism schools." It accused the AASDJ of imposing arbitrary yardsticks for accrediting and of "restraining and humiliating" schools not affiliated with the "junta" that controlled accrediting.[54]

The AASDJ did its best to ignore the rebels and push ahead with its accreditation program.[55] In 1953, however, its efforts to retain control of accreditation were smashed by the National Commission on Accreditation. The National Commission had been established in 1950 by 1200 college and university presidents, who felt they were losing control over the professional schools on

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[53] The 1949 convention minutes are the first to refer to the organization's new name. "Official Minutes of 1949 AATJ-AASDJ-ASJSA Convention," Journalism Quarterly 26 (1949), 493.

[54] Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," p. 26.

[55] Norval Neil Luxon, "Journalism Accrediting at the End of Five Years," Journalism Quarterly 28 (1951), 483-487.

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campuses. The National Commission wanted to put an end to the multiplicity of independent accrediting agencies, and put accreditation on an institution-wide basis. The AASDJ, however, insisted on the primacy of its own standards for journalism education. The National Commission responded by announcing that it would work with the trade schools' association in evaluating journalism programs.[56]

This turn of events shocked the AASDJ. Its efforts to establish a legitimate accrediting program suddenly were on the verge of being discarded. At the 1953 gathering of journalism teachers, the trade schools and the professional schools fought out their differences. Members of the trade schools' association reiterated their hostility to bureaucracy and regimentation, and to the idea that "bigness" was proof of high quality. They called for local autonomy in evaluating journalism education, saying that students, faculty and local boards of trustees knew better "what kind of department should be maintained" than did some accrediting team sent in from the outside.[57]

The AASDJ blustered and defended its record, but in the end it was forced to compromise. In a late-night meeting with the leaders of the trade schools, AASDJ representatives agreed to allow the rival association to appoint two of the four educator members to the accrediting committee. The AASDJ thus retained the structure it had created for journalism accrediting, but forfeited its dominant

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[56] Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," pp. 27, 36.

[57] "Official Minutes of the 1953 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 30 (1953), 539.

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voice within that structure. At the end of the 1953 meeting, the AASDJ president warned members that they must be "vigilant against attempts to water down the standards of journalism education. . . . We have gone as far as . . . can be expected . . . in co-operating on accrediting changes."[58]

Reflecting its disappointment with the power lost to the trade schools, the AASDJ no longer made membership in its own association automatic upon accreditation. Humbled, it changed its name back to the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. Members even considered raising the standards for membership to levels well above those required for accreditation, but settled on a system that called for approval of new members by a majority of existing members.[59]

The trade schools, meanwhile, luxuriated in their new legitimacy. Although they resented the continuing rhetorical attacks by the AASDJ,[60] they proudly reiterated their own vision of journalism education in the years after the 1953 compromise. They stated their commitment to faculty with professional experience, a clear slap in the face of the AASDJ, which had been

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[58] Ibid., pp. 539-549; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," p. 28.

[59] "Official Minutes of the 1954 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 31 (1954), 530; "Official Minutes of the 1955 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 33 (1956), 133-134; "Official Minutes of the 1956 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 34 (1957), 155-156.

[60] See, for example, Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," p. 28.

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emphasizing the need for teachers with advanced degrees. The convention minutes also ring with reaffirmations of the "principles of freedom of journalism education."[61]

IV. The Schools and the Industry

The history of the professions is filled with similar examples of "trade" schools confronting "professional" schools. In medicine, there was a network of for-profit medical schools; in law, there was the group of night law schools. In those cases, however, organizations within the industry itself backed the professional schools over the trade schools. With aid from state regulation, they marginalized these educational alternatives. Michael Schudson has characterized these struggles as evidence of the conflict between professionalism and the democratic ethos in American life. The trade schools represent democracy because they open up access to the occupation. In journalism, the freedom-of-choice rhetoric adopted by the trade schools reflected this more democratic ethos. In journalism, however, practitioners did not close ranks behind the professional vision of education, as occurred in law and medicine.[62]

Much has been made in journalism history of the resistance of

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[61] "Eleventh Convention of the American Society of Journalism School Administrators," Journalism Quarterly 33 (1956), 134; "Thirteenth Convention of the American Society of Journalism School Administrators," Journalism Quarterly 35 (1958), 142.

[62] Schudson, "The Flexner Report and the Reed Report," pp. 347, 358-361; Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, p. 202.

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traditionalists to the idea of the college-trained newspaper worker.[43] More significant for this discussion were the splits among practitioners who did accept the notion of the educated journalist and of journalism schools. These splits reflected the fragmentation and stratification within the industry itself.

The elite schools' growing disparagement of courses emphasizing techniques progressively alienated many journalism practitioners. This alienation comes through clearly in the 1931 issue of Journalism Quarterly, the successor to the Bulletin. Reprinting the addresses from the educators' annual convention, the journal sandwiched Bleyer's social scientific description of what newswriting courses should be between two analyses by practicing journalists of what editors wanted from the schools. Both practitioners recommended that the schools provide more practical training.[44]

This type of split between practitioners and professional schools is not surprising. In their influential book The Academic Revolution, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman described the tendency of professional practice to diverge from professional training. Practitioners frequently criticize professional schools for teaching overly academic material with limited practical use.

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[43] Sutton, Education for Journalism, pp. 7-10; O'Dell, History of Journalism Education, pp. 1-53.

[44] Harold B. Johnson, "What the Editors Expect of the Schools of Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 8 (1931), 30-32; Fred Fuller Shedd, "The Newspaper Heritage," Ibid., 52-55. See also Joseph Medill Patterson's address at the opening ceremonies of the Medill School, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.

However, the pattern discerned by Jencks and Riesman has less applicability to journalism. Their discussion dealt more with professional schools that had previously defeated challenges from "trade" schools. In Jencks and Riesman's book, the professional schools are already the exclusive pathway into the occupation. In journalism, this was not the case. Splits between practitioners and the professional schools empowered the growing group of trade schools within journalism education.

However, one of the most significant points for journalism education is that not all practitioners shared such attitudes. The American Society of Newspaper Editors, for example, issued a report in 1930 critical of the excessively vocational nature of the training offered in journalism schools. Similar sentiments were expressed at different times in Editor and Publisher.[66] In addition, the AASDJ was able to gain the support of the professional associations for its accrediting program. Clearly, there were important elements within the industry that shared the elite schools' professional vision.

Unfortunately for the AASDJ, these elements did not form a coherent professionalizing bloc within the industry. No single professional association commanded undivided respect within the industry. The American Society of Newspaper Editors, the group most

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[65] Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, Ch. 5.

[66] Bleyer, "What the Schools Are Trying to Do," p. 43; Problems of Journalism, 1930 Proceedings, ASNE, pp. 44-47. See also Joseph Medill Patterson's attack on purely technical training in a New York Daily News editorial in 1935, MSJP, No Box #, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers," Northwestern University Archives.

sympathetic to the views of the AASDJ, was by no means representative of all the papers in the country. In addition, the AASDJ confronted a mix of news outlets that were alike only in that they were lumped together as mass media. Small town papers had different requirements than metropolitan dailies, which both differed from the country weekly, the trade journal, the magazine, and other forms of print journalism. The advent of radio, and later television, journalism only added further to the mixture. The dissimilarities between these various media prevented the development of a coherent industry position and common professional goals that could have empowered the AASDJ to regulate entry into the occupation.

No less important was the ambiguous attitude of the publishers regarding professionalization. Publishers often observed the rhetoric of professionalization, but they also had an interest in keeping editorial wages low.[67] Strict control of entrance into the occupation worked against that interest. Indeed, almost from the outset, the educators criticized the publishers for not paying the journalism school graduates their worth. If the value of a professional education was not recognized in a journalist's salary, the educators argued, how could the schools attract the bright students so necessary for the improvement of journalism?

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[67] The publishers were quite adept at manipulating the term "professional" to serve their interests. Publishers fought the trade union tactics of the Newspaper Guild, for example, in its effort to raise wages by declaring that collective bargaining was illegitimate among "professionals." See Arthur Robb, "Shop Talk at Thirty," Editor and Publisher, January 29, 1944, p. 52.

The general history of the professions reveals that other occupations could overcome such structural disorganization when one or more groups within the occupation successfully mobilized the resources of the state to impose licensing requirements and certification. The professionalizing elements in journalism flirted with similar ideas. Bleyer, for example, supported efforts to obtain state licensing in Wisconsin. Qualms about the First Amendment and restrictions on the freedom of the press, however, usually intervened to prevent any sustained campaign.

That threw the issue of licensing and certification back on the industry itself. During the period, various plans for professional examinations and licenses administered by industry-wide "press institutes" were offered up in the pages of the Bulletin and the Quarterly. Similarly, the Hutchins Commission endorsed the creation of a citizens' commission that would oversee and criticize

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See, for example, Northwestern University Bulletin: The President's Report for 1929-30, vol. 31, (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1930), 162; Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics," p. 175; Allen, "Presidential Address," pp. 204-206; "Earnings in Journalism," The Journalism Bulletin 2 (1925), 29-33. The ASNE also complained occasionally about the effect of low salaries on the professionalization of journalism. See Problems of Journalism, 1924 Proceedings, ASNE, p. 125.

Beginning in 1953, Journalism Quarterly began annual surveys of journalism school enrollments and placement, showing average starting salaries, always pointing out that the journalist earned substantially less than other professionally trained occupations.

M.V. Atwood, "Proposed Plan for Certifying To Capability of Persons in Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 8 (1931), 24; John Drewry, "Presidential Address: The Journalist's Inferiority Complex," Journalism Quarterly 8 (1931), 21; Miller, "The Professional Spirit," p. 7; Donald K. Ross, "Willard G. Bleyer and Journalism Education," Journalism Quarterly 34 (1957), 473.

press performance. Again, however, the fragmentation of the industry prevented the building of any such institution. As one student of the Hutchins Commission has written, "there was no agreed-upon framework or set of standards which a citizens' commission could apply in monitoring press performance." Similarly, no consensus could be reached on journalism education.

V. The Results

The end result of these various conflicts was the persistence of a number of alternative routes into journalism. A system of Class A schools of journalism restricting entry to only those with "professional" training did not emerge. Instead, the Class A schools existed alongside the trade schools and alongside more traditional types of on-the-job training both for holders of non-journalism liberal arts degrees and for those with only high school diplomas.

Evidence for these conclusions comes from a series of sociological studies of the backgrounds of journalists during the first 50 years of the schools' existence. These studies indicate that considerably less than half of the editors and reporters surveyed were trained in journalism schools. Table 1 reproduces the results of five such studies done between 1931 and 1954. In only

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[70] Jerilyn S. McIntyre, "The Hutchins Commission's Search for a Moral Framework," Journalism History 6 (1979), 63; Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press, 100-102; E.J. Mehren, "Foreword: Ethics in Journalism," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 101 (1922), 169; Drewry, "The Journalist's Inferiority Complex," pp. 20-23; Atwood, "Proposed Plan," pp. 24-29.

one study did the proportion of journalism school-trained editors and reporters reach one third, and that level was achieved only in a study of one Milwaukee daily. While these figures provide only crude indications, because of the widely different sample populations, the general conclusions are clear.

Table 1[71]: Degree-Holding
Among Journalists Surveyed, 1931-1954

Sample size	1931 (505)	1937 (127)	1941* (55)	1950* (112)	1954a (2,483)	1954b (633)
% holding: Bachelor's of Journalism	12.7**	10.2	33.0	30.0	26.6	20.1
Non-Journalism B.A.	40.8	51.1	55.5	60.0	54.2	70.5
Master's of Journalism	--	--	--	--	2.0	1.8
Non-Journalism M.A.	--	6.2	--	4.0	4.1	4.6

*: Studies of individual local newspapers. **: Percentage of those journalists surveyed who received "any professional training;" percentage of total sample not provided.

Two studies of more recent vintage offer further support for this argument. John Johnstone's 1971 survey of 1,300 print and broadcast journalists nationwide showed that only 27.5% held undergraduate journalism or communications degrees, and only 8.8% held more advanced professional degrees.[72] David Weaver's and G. Cleveland Wilhoit's 1982 survey of 1000 print and broadcast journalists found levels of 40.6% and 8.8% for undergraduate and advanced journalism degrees, respectively.[73] It seems clear, therefore, that the elite schools' vision of a professional corps of journalists has yet to be brought to fruition.

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[71] Sources: 1931: Robert Harrel and Walter Pitkin, Vocational Studies in Journalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 152. 1937: Leo Rosten, The Washington Correspondents (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937), 328-329. 1941: Francis Prugger, "Social Composition and Training of Milwaukee Journal News Staff," Journalism Quarterly 18 (1941), 234. 1950: Warren Carl Engstrom, Social Composition and Training of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune News and Editorial Staffs (M.A. Thesis: University of Minnesota, 1950). 1954a and 1954b: Keen Rafferty and Leonard L. Jermain, "College Backgrounds of Staffs of American Daily Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly 41 (1954), 492.

If a variety of pathways into the occupation persisted, it might be reasonable to expect to find certain types of aspiring journalists in greater concentration in certain pathways than in others. Throughout this period, journalism was predominantly a white male occupation, although white women made steady inroads. It seems reasonable to assume that the more informal paths of entry into the occupation would similarly be dominated by white men. Groups who were excluded from these pathways for reasons of gender,

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[72] John W.C. Johnstone, et. al., The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and their Work (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 200, 203.

[73] David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 47, 56-57. Weaver and Wilhoit argue that the media are recruiting more heavily from journalism schools than in the past, and their figure of 40.6% of working journalists with journalism degrees supports such a statement. This could indicate that the journalism schools are belatedly assuming their position as gatekeepers. I would argue, however, that a reduced number of arts and humanities graduates during the 1970s, combined with the prestige accruing from the Watergate investigation, have caused a temporary blip in the figures.

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race or social class might then be more likely to turn to the formal credential of a journalism degree to gain access to the occupation. Such a hypothesis would be supported by data showing a marked difference between the make-up of the journalism student body and that of the occupation itself.

A gender analysis of the graduation lists for the first ten years of the Medill School at Northwestern, the first twenty years at the University of Missouri, and a 1925 list of 382 graduates from 26 different schools and departments show that women made up a greater percentage of the student body than of the occupation as a whole. For example, of the 916 who graduated from the University of Missouri journalism school between 1909 and 1928, 352 (38.4%) were women. Of the 227 who graduated from the Medill School between 1922 and 1931, 111 (48.8%) were women. And of the 1925 list, 156 (40.8%) were women. Figures from the census for the "editors and reporters" occupational category, on the other hand, show that women made up only 12.2% of the occupation in 1910, 16.8% in 1920, and 23% in 1930.[74] A similar analysis for race and class would perhaps show similar results.

Again, such figures provide only crude indications, but they are backed up by the visible discomfort of journalism educators at the number of women in their courses. A Wisconsin journalism professor wrote in 1928 that offering a course in "women's departments" broadened the available field of study, thus saving the school from "the embarrassment incident to the persistent influx of women students into journalism courses." Similarly, the Dean at the Medill School praised a 1937 reorganization of the program on a graduate basis because it "materially reduced the number of women in the school." In her own survey of the hostility of journalism educators toward women, Maurine Beasley concluded that "journalism education provided a credential for women who, far more than men, were barred from the alternative route of on-the-job training."[75]

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[74] The graduation figures for Medill come from Northwestern University Bulletin: The President's Report, vols. 22-32 (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1922-31). The Missouri figures come from Williams, Twenty Years of Journalism Education, p. 453. The 1925 figures were published in "The 1925 Graduates," The Journalism Bulletin 2 (1925), 31-34. The occupational figures are from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, vol. 5, General Report on Occupations (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 20.

VI. Conclusions

By the mid-1950s, the professional project that had motivated the initial creation of the schools began to recede in importance. The elite schools faced challenges on another front--the invasion of their academic turf by the new discipline of communications. Research began to play an increasingly important role in the elite schools' justification of their existence. The year 1955 saw the first "rump session" devoted to the presentation of research in mass communications at the annual meeting of the journalism teachers. By 1958, it was a regular feature of the convention. Journalism Quarterly began its transformation into a forum for presenting quantitative research rather than proposals on furthering the professionalization of journalism.[76]

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[75] Maurine Beasley, "Women in Journalism Education: The Formative Period, 1908-1930," Journalism History 13 (1986), 17; "Study of the School of Journalism," 1940, MSJP, No Box #, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers," Northwestern University Archives; Grant Hyde, "Raising the Quality of Students," The Journalism Bulletin 4 (1928), 21.

The rhetoric, however, remained in place. Course catalogs still promote the idea that a professional education is necessary for the aspiring journalist. This paper has located the source of this rhetoric in the formative period of journalism education and in the elite schools' battle to restrict entry into journalism. It has tried to show the importance of the links between professional schools and the occupation they serve. Unlike other professions, in which a strong professionalizing coalition made up of practitioners and educators were able to create a system of restricted professional education, in journalism no such coalition emerged. Unlike other professions, which could rely on the state to help enforce certain professional prerequisites, journalism's peculiar privileges under the Constitution prevented such a reliance.[77]

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[76] Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," pp. 39-40. The two cumulative indexes to Journalism Quarterly provide a useful categorization of articles that clearly shows the changing focus of the journal.

[77] This bears only indirectly on the question of whether journalism is really a profession. Theorists have abandoned the attempt to compile lists of a priori attributes that define a profession, so the lack of a required type of specialized training does not reflect directly on the question of journalism's status. Most recent work has looked more at questions of an occupation's self-perception as a profession and the status of its practitioners within society. See Randall Collins, "Changing Conceptions in the Sociology of the Professions," in Rolf Torstendahl and Michael Burrage, eds., The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 11-23; Laurence Veysey, "Who's a Professional? Who Cares?" Reviews in American History 3

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The schools could not shut down the alternative routes into journalism, although the degree seems to have been a valuable credential for some who were barred from those alternative routes. Current figures seem to indicate that the degree has come to be useful for getting a first job, even though it is far from being the calling card of the professional journalist. Thus while the educators of the elite schools were not able to realize their vision of a small group of schools controlling access to journalism, perhaps the schools helped another group--the students--realize a different set of visions.

(1975), 419-423; Robert Dingwall, "Accomplishing Profession," Sociological Review 24 (1976), 331-349. Studies of journalists include Jack McLeod and Searle Hawley, Jr., "Professionalization among Newsmen," Journalism Quarterly 41 (1964), 529-538, 577; Swen Windahl and Karl Erik Rosengren, "Newsmen's Professionalization: Some Methodological Problems," Journalism Quarterly 55 (1978), 466-473.

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SAVANNAH'S LITTLE WATCHDOG WEEKLY: THE GEORGIA GAZETTE, 1978-1985

A paper submitted to the
American Journalism Historians Association Conference

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SAVANNAH'S LITTLE WATCHDOG WEEKLY:
THE GEORGIA GAZETTE, 1978-1985

On April 10, 1978, Georgia's first newspaper, the Georgia Gazette, was revived in Savannah. Over the next seven years, the little weekly broke major stories, exposed corruption, and editorialized passionately, earning the newspaper a reputation as one of the most enterprising and aggressive weeklies in the country. The Gazette's reporting led to the investigation and eventual criminal conviction of state Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell, the first constitutional officer in Georgia ever convicted of a felony. And in 1984 the Gazette's editor, Albert Scardino, became the first weekly editor in more than 20 years to win the prestigious Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing.

The history of the Gazette is one of a scrappy, unconventional newspaper that was constantly threatened with bankruptcy and struggled simply to survive. Certainly, these characteristics alone do not set the Gazette apart from the scores of upstart papers that report the news aggressively in the face of long odds.[1] What made the Gazette different was the impact its editorial commitment wrought and the wide recognition the weekly received.

This paper examines the brief but colorful history of the Gazette, focusing on its news and editorial approach. Through interviews with key participants and an examination of back issues and other secondary sources, a picture emerges of what can be achieved by a small newspaper that reported the news fairly, yet aggressively and was not afraid to take a stand.

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The Gazette was the passion of Scardino and his wife, Marjorie. The young couple returned to Albert's hometown in 1976 believing they could "make a difference," in the words of Marjorie.[2] Concerned over what they believed to be a host of problems -- chiefly a local government operating without any scrutiny -- the Scardinos decided to start the Gazette as an aggressive alternative to Savannah's two daily newspapers. Using their own funds and money raised from family and friends, the Gazette was launched in 1978. Albert served as editor; Marjorie served as publisher -- in addition to maintaining a law practice.[3] The Gazette took its name and masthead from Georgia's first newspaper. The original Georgia Gazette was first published in 1763, and despite a tumultuous history, survived the Revolutionary War and two more decades, before closing in 1802.[4]

The question for the new Gazette was how the newspaper was going to distinguish itself and compete successfully with Savannah's dailies.[5] In American Newspapers in the 1980s, Ernest C. Hynds said weekly newspapers can best compete with their daily counterparts by "providing more and better coverage, particularly of important local issues."[6] What constitutes "more and better coverage," of course, has long been subject to debate. Although the literature is not in complete agreement on the subject, most studies have found that community newspapers generally avoid controversy, choosing instead to emphasize social and personal news.[7]

Of course, there have been repeated calls from industry observers for more comprehensive coverage of community affairs by weekly newspapers. Writing in 1977, a year before the Gazette began publishing, journalism educator Walter Fox said such coverage was particularly needed in the modern era where the immediacy of television news was undermining many newspaper functions, relegating them to interpretation and in-depth coverage.[8]

The Gazette heeded this call. In planning the Gazette, the Scardinos envisioned a weekly newspaper that would emphasize analytical and investigative stories along with a strong editorial page.[9] The lead editorial in the first issue laid out the Gazette's mission and approach to covering news. Albert Scardino wrote: "We've revived the Georgia Gazette to give Chatham County a broader range of fact and opinion than has been available in recent years... Our editorial staff won't hesitate to report the news wherever we find it, and if we haven't touched one of your nerves by the end of the year, we probably haven't done our job."[10]

The Gazette's aggressive approach to news was not surprising considering Albert and Marjorie Scardino's journalism backgrounds. Both had been reporters with the Associated Press and Albert had worked briefly for two large daily newspapers.[11]

The couple simply applied the aggressive news coverage used by most large news organizations to the Gazette. Albert Scardino summed up this news approach in an interview when he said: "I never thought that just because a publication was small, the journalistic standards were different."[12]

A story published in 1979 that exemplified the Gazette's approach to news dealt with the new Chatham County courthouse. The clerk of the court was unhappy about the new building and during an interview Albert Scardino asked him what was wrong. Among other things, the clerk said, the new building did not have enough bathrooms. Scardino went back and looked at the architect's plans and told the clerk there were two bathrooms planned at the end of the hall. The clerk said, "No, that's not enough; we need four...I'm not going to let any of these big nigger women come in and sit down on these toilets [when] I've got all these white girls working in my office." Scardino returned to the office and wrote a story about the clerk's complaints regarding the courthouse, including his remark about the "big nigger women." The result: "We made an enemy for a long, long time," Scardino said.[13]

Such an aggressive approach to newspapering often made the Scardinos unpopular in Savannah. The couple was repeatedly ignored on the city's streets, and on several occasions businesses pulled their advertising. The newspaper's boxes were dumped into the Savannah River, and at one point, the FBI warned the Scardinos to check their cars for bombs.[14]

For the Scardinos, however, the rewards of such a philosophy were seeing how the Gazette often could have an impact. An elementary school principal in Savannah had come to believe that students in her school were ruining their health by eating too much candy. The principal took an aggressive approach to the problem and the Gazette reported it. Albert Scardino related the story years later:

> I think she [principal] was a well-meaning lady who had slipped a gear. She began conducting searches throughout the school and having female teachers do body searches of the girls for candy. It was easy to write a story about how ironic it was that fourth-graders, as part of their curriculum, had to memorize the Bill of Rights while in that same fourth grade they were experiencing this violation of the Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable searches, and then to see within twenty-four hours the principal being suspended.[15]

Early in 1980, the Gazette published its most controversial story and one that caused lasting resentment among many people in Savannah. That month 23-year-old George A. Mercer, IV, a member of one of the city's most prominent families, was reported missing. Initially, the only publicity given to the case was a small item in the Savannah Morning News. Albert Scardino received a tip on the story. In questioning police and friends of Mercer's, Scardino learned that the young man had been kidnapped and was being held for ransom.[16]

Scardino contacted Mercer's father who would not acknowledge that his son had been kidnapped. The elder Mercer, chairman of the board of the Savannah Memorial Hospital and a former member of the Chatham County Commission, pleaded with Scardino not to publish the story, saying any news might endanger his son's life. Scardino was not convinced, however, and in a copyrighted story published the Gazette broke the news of Mercer's kidnapping.[17]

The story caused an immediate outcry in Savannah. Many people believed that publicity about the case not only would endanger Mercer's life but alert his kidnapper that authorities were looking for him. Some accused the Gazette of publishing the story only to gain publicity for the newspaper. A bank canceled a large advertising campaign that was to begin in the Gazette. Some people pointedly snubbed Albert Scardino on the street. Twenty readers also wrote angry letters to the newspaper canceling their subscriptions.[18]

Albert Scardino said that he expected some criticism of the story from the Mercer family but was surprised by the outcry from the rest of the community. Scardino, however, defended running the story.

> ... I know and respect the Mercer family. I sympathized then and now with their plight. But I also felt a responsibility to my readers and to the people of Savannah generally. After all, I was sitting on information that a member of our community had been kidnapped, possibly even killed. A kidnapper and possibly a murderer was loose in Savannah. I concluded the public had both a right and a need to know such information.[19]

George A. Mercer, IV eventually was found dead in a shallow grave in a wooded section of Savannah. He had been shot twice. His kidnapper, 24-year-old Michael Harper, a local man who had previously served time for extortion, was arrested. He was eventually convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

The Chatham County coroner later ruled that Mercer had probably been killed the first day he was missing.[20]

But the implication that Mercer's death had occurred before the Gazette's story did little to reduce animosity toward the newspaper. When Albert and Marjorie Scardino walked into a downtown restaurant one day for lunch, the ten or so diners got up and walked out.[21] Rumors got back to the Gazette's office that a group of prominent Savannah businessmen had discussed ways of coordinating an advertising boycott, although no organized boycott ever took place.[22]

The Mercer case and the Gazette's role in it attracted the attention of columnist and author Calvin Trillin. He devoted a chapter to it in his 1984 book, Killings. The chapter, entitled "Among Friends," detailed the kidnapping and murder, as well as the Mercer family's attempts to quash the story. "The real improper thing was not that we endangered his [Mercer's] life but that an upstanding, powerful, rich member of the community asked us to do something and we ignored his request," Scardino told Trillin. "That was the special betrayal that caused the special animosity."[23]

It was ironic that a crime story such as the Mercer kidnapping would turn out to be one of the most controversial stories published by the Gazette. "We didn't cover crime generally," Albert Scardino said later. "Both [daily] papers had police reporters. There was no way we could beat them."[24] But the next year, the Gazette was mired in controversy and, once again, it was the result of a crime story.

On March 11, 1981, the Gazette ran a front-page story identifying a Savannah dentist as the prime suspect in the murder of a 20-year-old woman. The victim had been stabbed thirty-eight times in the chest with a small, sharp instrument, believed to be a letter opener. The suspect, Jack E. Ramsey, Jr., lived in the same duplex with the victim and had a history of alleged sexual abuse of his female dental patients in his office, according to the Gazette story.[25] The lead of the story said:

> Savannah police have narrowed their search for the murderer of 20-year-old court reporter Cam Manzies to one suspect, Savannah dentist Jack E. Ramsey, Jr., sources close to the investigation said Monday.[26]

Less than a week later, however, attorneys for Ramsey sued the Gazette seeking damages for invasion of privacy stemming from the story. According to the lawsuit, which asked for damages totalling $2.4 million, the story was published to increase the paper's circulation. The suit alleged that because of the story, Ramsey had suffered emotional distress and destruction of his reputation. The lawsuit, however, did not allege libel and did not challenge the accuracy of the story.[27]

The Gazette had a libel insurance policy that covered legal expenses from lawsuits. Using the insurance policy to pay its lawyers, the newspaper moved to subpoena possible witnesses and view documents in the case from the dentist and from investigating officers. By using its power of discovery as a defendant in the suit, the Gazette delved further into the case and reported developments over the next two months.[28]

Attorneys for Ramsey went back to court seeking a restraining order prohibiting the paper from publishing any material it obtained from discovery. On June 30, a Superior Court judge granted the order, although limiting it only to information obtained by the Gazette during discovery and not to any material gained through independent investigations by the paper. In his order, the judge said he was aware the newspaper had constitutional rights but that Ramsey also had rights which deserved protection.[29]

The Gazette immediately appealed the decision to the Georgia Supreme Court. On November 13, 1981, the court overturned the order, ruling that the order was an unwarranted restraint upon the newspaper's guarantee of free press.[30] The Gazette received more good news a few months later when the Superior Court judge dismissed the invasion of privacy suit filed against the paper by Ramsey. The judge ruled that the stories published by the Gazette involved matters of "legitimate public interest" and were not an invasion of privacy.[31] Ramsey, as a dentist, was a member of a "learned profession," the judge said, who by his calling, placed his private life open to public scrutiny.[32] The fact that Ramsey had not been charged with the murder was of little significance. "If Ramsey were in fact not a suspect, his ground of recovery is libel, not invasion of privacy," the judge wrote.[33]

With the Ramsey case behind the newspaper, things were fairly uneventful on the pages of the Gazette during the first half of 1982. But the lull did not last long because on July 7 the Gazette broke its biggest story. The previous month Albert Scardino received a telephone call from an employee with the Georgia Department of Labor who said he had a story about the department. The man who claimed he had been strong-armed by department officials into contributing to the re-election campaign of Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell. The man said the department was rife with corruption. He said he had approached several other newspapers in the state with the story but none had been interested.[34]

Caldwell had long been a fixture at the state capitol in Atlanta. For 16 years, he had been commissioner of the Labor Department, a far-flung bureaucracy that employed thousands of workers statewide. Crusty and white-haired, Caldwell was considered a capable bureaucrat who was even better at holding on to his job.

The Gazette had developed good sources at the FBI from the Mercer kidnapping. Using the FBI and other sources, Scardino and David Rogers put together a story outlining corruption within the Labor Department that began with the commissioner. It was the lead story in the July 7 issue. The story, which had several typographical mistakes, began:

> The FBI has launched [an] investigation into charges that Sam Caldwell, state labor commissioner, has created a political empire financed by extortion, prostitution and gambling which he and his underlyings

> [sic] have used to manipulate election campaigns from the municipal level to the highest offices in Georgia, sources closely involved with the case reported last week.[35]

The staff believed the Caldwell story would be a one-shot thing for the paper. Once the initial story appeared, they expected the state's daily newspapers would pick up the story and the Gazette, with its limited resources, would not be able to compete.[36] But the daily newspapers ignored the story, and so the Gazette continued looking into allegations surrounding the Labor Department. Scardino said later:

> I was surprised that no other papers picked up the story for a long time. Then I got angry. I got angry [with] the arrogant people at the daily papers. [To them] it was impossible that a little weekly paper in southeast Georgia could break a story about what was happening at the capitol.... I said to Dave [Rogers], "Let's keep at it. We'll do it every week until either we go out of business or someone else picks up the story."[37]

The Gazette ran stories on the Caldwell investigation for six straight weeks before the story was picked up by any of the state's daily newspapers.

In all, the Gazette ran more than twenty stories on the Labor Department investigation during 1982. The stories outlined illegal activities not only by Caldwell but dozens of other Labor Department employees. David Rogers wrote the vast majority of the stories and did an excellent job in Scardino's view. Rogers' dedication to the story was even more remarkable because it occurred during some of the Gazette's most difficult days financially. Rogers was the newspaper's only full-time reporter at the time and was getting paid sporadically. Often, the

Gazette could not even afford to put gasoline in his car so he could pursue the Caldwell story around the state.[38]

By September of 1983, the Gazette was able to report that Sam Caldwell had been indicted for fraud. In a story written by David K. Rogers, the newspaper said:

> Sam Caldwell, who for more than 16 years ruled Georgia's strongest political empire as Commissioner of Labor, was indicted by a Fulton County Grand Jury Tuesday on charges that he defrauded the state and violated his oath of office. He was booked at the Fulton County Jail Wednesday and released after posting a $5,000 bond.[39]

In the last issue of 1983, the Gazette reported that Caldwell and fifteen other Labor Department officials had been indicted on additional charges of racketeering in connection with illegal fundraising practices in Caldwell's 1982 re-election campaign. The indictments brought to forty-four the number of Labor Department officials throughout the state under indictment or already convicted of criminal charges.[40]

Not all the Gazette's investigative stories were as well done. As 1984 began, the Gazette turned its attention to the problem of unpaid state license fees imposed on doctors, lawyers and other professionals. The Gazette's story said the city of Savannah was losing as much as $500,000 each year by failing to collect the fees. The city had been relying on an "on your honor" system for payment of the fees. Enforcement of the city's tax laws, however, was virtually non-existent, according to the story.[41]

Three weeks later, the Gazette began a six-part series examining the various groups of professionals who were negligent in paying the license fees.[42] Among these professionals were lawyers, physicians, dentists, veterinarians, architects, engineers and accountants. At the end of each of the stories, the Gazette listed in agate type the professionals who had failed to pay the fees. In the first story of the series, the Gazette revealed that nearly one-third of the attorneys practicing law in Savannah had not paid the tax in 1983, costing the city more than $22,000. Although the State Bar of Georgia listed 512 lawyers licensed to practice in Savannah, nearly 300 of those failed to pay the professional fee, according to the Gazette's story.[43] There were problems with the series, however. In a number of instances, professionals who were listed as not paying the fees had actually done so.[44] The Gazette was forced to correct the errors and also printed angry letters from professionals who had been mistakenly listed as not paying the fees.

A better example of the Gazette's investigative efforts was an examination of Gulfstream Aerospace Corporation. The giant airplane manufacturer was one of Chatham County's largest and best-known employers. In a copyrighted story published August 16 1984, the newspaper broke the story of how Gulfstream had avoided millions of dollars in county taxes.[45] The county Tax Assessor's Office had been alerted to possible discrepancies in inventory values when the Gazette questioned Gulfstream's practice of valuing the jet aircraft parts as scrap metal. The company disputed the tax assessor's findings but eventually paid more than $2 million in back taxes.[46] Scardino later said he believed the Gulfstream story was "the most important story we did. [The] issue was one of fundamental fairness."[47]

The Gazette had closed by the time Gulfstream paid its back taxes to the county and so was unable to report the fruits of its investigation. But in 1984 the newspaper was able to close the book on Sam Caldwell's political career. Bowing to an outpouring of public and political pressure after his indictment on criminal charges, Caldwell resigned in May, less than two years after the Gazette's initial story appeared.[48] He was eventually convicted on fraud charges, sentenced to five years in prison and fined thousands of dollars.[49] The Gazette could rightly claim that it had helped to bring down one of the state's most powerful and corrupt public officials.

Certainly, the Gazette was not without its problems. Erroneous information frequently was printed and proofreading, even of headlines, often was abysmal. But to its credit, the Gazette always corrected the mistakes, often poking fun at itself in the process.

For all the Gazette's success journalistically, the newspaper was never a success financially. The Scardinos had only $50,000 to launch the paper and that money was used up within the first year. Drastic cost-cutting measures were implemented and the Scardinos gave up their salaries. Even so, the Scardinos repeatedly was forced to dip into their own savings

savings and borrow from family and friends to keep the newspaper operating.[50]

With its emphasis on analytical and investigative stories, the Gazette catered to an upscale, professional audience, but that market proved to be small in Savannah. The newspaper's circulation peaked at barely more that 4,000 and most years averaged about 2,500. With a small circulation, the Gazette could not boast of being able to successfully penetrate households in Savannah. Major advertisers never bought space regularly or in large amounts and so the Gazette relied on small, independent advertisers. In all, the Gazette lost more than $500,000.[51]

The Gazette's owners tried various ways to keep the newspaper afloat. Less than six months after it began publishing, the newspaper merged with the Savannah Journal-Record, a free distribution paper in the city. That qualified the Gazette to serve as Chatham County's officials legal organ. The designation brought in approximately $100,000 in adverting revenues.[52] But the designation also prompted a series of legal battles with Morris Communications, owners of the city's two dailies. Legal notices had been carried for decades in one of the dailies, and Morris filed a lawsuit charging that the Gazette had not been publishing long enough to serve as the county's legal organ. The case eventually went to the Georgia Supreme Court which ruled in favor of the Gazette.[53] Morris then sought a new state law which would have taken the designation away from the Gazette because of its limited circulation. That move also failed, but two years later Morris regained the legal notices contract.[54]

The owners of the Gazette also started a commercial job shop and two free shopping guides to take advantage of the growing population in Savannah's suburbs. Both ventures improved the company's financial picture. But they did little to reduce debts which had grown to $275,000 by 1980.[55]

Despite the Gazette's mounting financial problems, the newspaper continued to show that it was not afraid to court controversy -- including on its editorial page. The newspaper frequently took unpopular stands, criticizing individuals, government and business. Here again, the Gazette stood apart from many weeklies. Several studies have shown that many weeklies do not emphasize their editorial page and often avoid controversial subjects.[56]

Albert Scardino wrote the majority of the Gazette's editorials. The style of the Gazette's editorials generally was simple and direct. Many of the newspaper's most effective editorials were blunt, while others were mockingly sarcastic. One editorial about the Chatham County School Board director took the director's critics to task for their attempts to thwart his efforts at improving schools.

> Ronald Etheridge, that educational dictator who is threatening our right to have a mediocre public school system, is at it again. As if trying to improve the quality of education in Chatham County were not enough, Etheridge is now infringing on our children's God-given right to take an extra week of summer vacation, expecting our kids to actually show up for the first day of school.

> In case you missed it, Etheridge and his Bull Street bullies have posted billboards throughout the county urging students -- especially those 15% who traditionally fail to appear -- to make it to school on Aug. 27, the first day of school this year.
>
> This obvious kind of meddling with the status quo must be dealt with forcefully, or pretty soon Etheridge will make some outrageous demands on our children, such as requiring that they do homework...[57]

The local government was a frequent target of the paper's editorials. In a 1983 editorial the Gazette spoke out against the Chatham County government's propensity for conducting its business secretively:

> Just whose government is it, anyway?
>
> Over the past three or four years, the operations of our county government have grown more and more secretive. There is nothing sinister going on here. At least we don't think there is. No one has anything in particular to hide.
>
> ...When government operates in secret, it no longer belongs to the governed. It becomes the property of those in office. They can twist it, abuse it, steal from it, destroy it or expand it, as they see fit. Or they can just take advantage of their privacy to avoid answering to anyone else.
>
> No one ever said that the truth will make us comfortable, but it will set us free, and as long as the government of Chatham County belongs to the citizens of the county, we will make every effort to squeeze information that belongs to the public out of those who hold the keys to the file cabinets.[58]

Not surprisingly, the Gazette editorialized heavily about Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell. In its first editorial on the controversy, published two months after the story broke, the paper wasted few words in expressing its opinion. The Gazette called for Caldwell's resignation, noting that the commissioner acknowledged that some of his employees were coerced into making contributions to his re-election campaign, although he denied he was involved in other illegal activities.[59] As usual, the paper was blunt:

> ...If even a small portion of the allegations are true and Caldwell knew nothing about them, he should be locked up for incompetence, mismanagement and stupidity. If he did know, he should be locked up for being a crook.
>
> In either event, he should not continue to handle a department with a budget of nearly $90 million and a staff of nearly 2,000 employees.[60]

In all, the Gazette published more than ten editorials about Sam Caldwell and the Department of Labor. Most of the editorials had the no-nonsense directness that characterized the Gazette's work. In another 1983 editorial, the Gazette said the Caldwell episode was symptomatic of other serious problems within the state government.

> Corruption in government grows like mold. Give it something to live on and provide just the right conditions for growth and it will spread until it covers everything in sight.
>
> Sam Caldwell turned our state Dept. of Labor into a perfect medium for growing corruption. For 16 years he built an empire insulated from what few checks and balances existed in our state government....
>
> ...Under state regulations, when a job comes open, it must be advertised within the department so that those who are already on the payroll have a chance at advancement. Time and again, the better jobs were filled by a Caldwell cronie [sic] from a small, rural county who had no understanding of what to do and no qualifications for the job, much less any experience in the state Dept. of Labor....
>
> We have a long way to go to reform the government of Georgia. If we stop with the Dept. of Labor, the mold will grow back as soon as we turn off the light.[61]

Editorials about the Caldwell scandal were among those that won Albert Scardino the 1984 Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing. The award, considered the most prestigious in print journalism, is awarded for "clearness of style, sound reasoning, moral purpose and power to influence public opinion."[62] The last weekly editor to win a Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing was Hazel Brannon-Smith of the Lexington (Mississippi) Advertiser in 1963. One Pulitzer judge said the jury was impressed by the toughness and directness of the Gazette's editorials. But the jury also could not overlook the newspaper's investigation of Sam Caldwell and the Labor Department. In fact, the idea that a little weekly newspaper could break such a big statewide story seemed so improbable that jury members checked it out to make sure the story was true.[63]

The idea that a Georgia weekly could achieve such feats caught the attention of the national media. The Gazette and the Scardinos were the subject of stories in the New York Times,[64] Washington Post,[65] Time,[66] and other publications. The Washington Post story noted, "[Albert] Scardino and his wife, Marjorie... are celebrities this week in their home town, but the cease-fire in the Scardinos' war of words with the community is destined to be short."[67]

Yet less than a year after winning the Pulitzer Prize, the Gazette was out of business. The parent company's mounting debts made it impossible for the newspaper to continue publishing.[68] News of the Gazette's closing appeared in the Chicago Tribune, New York Times, Wall Street Journal and other newspapers. Many of the stories were laudatory, including an editorial eulogy in the Atlanta Constitution, one of the many papers scooped by the Gazette during its history.

> The death of any newspaper, even a so-so one is saddening; of a good one, tragic; of a good eccentric one -- well, maddening. Spend a wrench of the gut, then, for the Georgia Gazette, the Savannah weekly that will fold March 1.
>
> In its few years of publication, the paper, with a circulation of just 3,000 made up in zeal and commitment what it lacked in resources. It broke major stories, investigated and exposed boondoggles and editorialized with both fists. Its editor, Albert Scardino, won the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing last year, the first editor of weekly to do so in 20 years.
>
> Scardino says he is closing the paper because it no longer makes "any sense financially." Perhaps, but it has made a great deal of sense journalistically.[69]

***

Certainly the Scardinos achieved their goal of "making a difference" in Savannah by publishing the Gazette. In its news and editorial columns, the weekly had an undeniable impact. The Gazette was not without its problems, most notably financial ones stemming from a small circulation and poor advertising sales. These financial problems made publishing the Gazette an uphill struggle and eventually the newspaper succumbed. Problems aside however, the paper has to be considered a great success journalistically. Few newspapers of any size can boast of achieving what the Gazette and its staff did in just seven years. For that reason, the Georgia Gazette's place in journalism history is secure.

NOTES

1. See generally Howard Rusk Long, ed., Main Street Militants (Carbondale, Ill: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979)

2. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991, New York, Tape recording.

3. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991.

4. Louis Turner Griffith and John Erwin Talmadge, Georgia Journalism 1763-1950 (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1951) 3.

5. Albert and Marjorie Scardino interview by author, 26 April 1991.

6. Ernest C. Hynds, American Newspapers in the 1980s (New York: Hastings House, 1980) 107.

7. See Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 75 and Clarice N. Olien, George A. Donohue and Phillip J. tichenor, "The Community Editor's Power and the Reporting of Conflict," Journalism Quarterly, 45 Summer 1968: 252.

8. Walter Fox, "Newspaper is Art Form," Grassroots Editor, Autumn 1977, 5.

9. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991.

10. "A Revival," Georgia Gazette, 10 April 1978, p. 4.

11. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991.

12. Ibid.

13. Karen Rothmyer, Winning Pulitzers (New York: columbia University Press, 1991) 175.

14. Bill Cutler, "Georgia's Muckraking Gazette" Columbia Journalism Review, July/August 1983, 12.

15. Ibid.

16. Calvin Trillin, Killings (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1984), 189.

17. Albert Scardino, "Missing or Kidnapped?" Georgia Gazette, 11 February 1980, p. 1.

18. Trillin, Killings, 189.

19. William Winn, "Hard News, Hard Times," Atlanta, February 1981, p. 64.

20. Trillin, Killings, 190.

21. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991.

22. Ibid.

23. Trillin, Killings, 190.

24. Albert and Marjorie Scardino interview by author, 26 April 1991.

25. David K. Rogers, "Dentist Suspected in Murder," Georgia Gazette, 11 March 1981, p. 1.

26. Ibid.

27. Jan Skutch, "Dentist Sues Gazette, Asks for $2.4 Million," Savannah Morning News, 17 March 1981, sec. B. p. 1.

28. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991.

29. "Gazette Restrained in Ramsey Suit," Savannah Morning News, 7 July 1981, sec. B, p. 1.

30. Georgia Gazette Publishing Co. v. Ramsey. 284 S.E. 2d 386 (1981).

31. Kathy Trocheck, "Dentist's privacy wasn't invaded, judge decides," Atlanta Journal, 22 January 1982.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991.

35. David K. Rogers and Albert Scardino, "FBI Eyes Labor Dept. Rackets," Georgia Gazette, 7 July 1982, p. 1.

36. Albert and Marjorie Scardino, interview by author, 26 April 1991.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. David K. Rogers, "Caldwell Indicted for Fraud," Georgia Gazette, 29 September 1983, p. 1.

40. David K. Rogers, "Labor Dept. Election Rackets Busted," Georgia Gazette, 29 December 1983, p. 1.

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42. David K. Rogers, "City Uncovers 'Massive' Tax Loses," Georgia Gazette, 9 February 1984, p. 1.

43. Ibid.

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45. David K. Rogers, "Audit Hits Gulfstream Hard," Georgia Gazette, 16 August 1984, p. 1.

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47. Ibid.

48. "Caldwell Quits, Tanner Named, Eight Fired," Georgia Gazette, 10 May 1984, p. 1.

49. Ibid.

50. Albert and Marjorie Scardino interview by author, 26 April 1991.

51. Albert and Marjorie Scardino interview by author, 26 April 1991.

52. "Legal Battle," Georgia Gazette, 25 December 1978, p. 1.

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54. Albert Marjorie Scardino interview by author, 26 April 1991.

55. Ibid.

56. Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 77 and Walter Brovald, "Controversy Rare Topic," Grassroots Editor 19 (Spring 1978): 6.

57. "Back to school, now," Georgia Gazette, 23 August 1984, p. 4.

58. "Whose Government?" Georgia Gazette, 4 May 1983, p. 4.

59. "Caldwell Should Resign," Georgia Gazette, 1 September 1982, p. 4.

60. Ibid.

61. "Moldy Department," Georgia Gazette, 3 November 1983. p. 4.

62. W. David Sloan, Pulitzer Prize Editorials (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1980), ix.

63. Paul Greenberg, interview by author, 7 November 1991, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

64. Reginald Stuart, "Editorials Get Small Weekly a Big Honor," New York Times April 19, 1984, sec. A., p. 16.

65. Eleanor Randolph, "Prize Briefly Frees Editor From Doghouse," Washington Post, 19 April 1984, sec. A., p. 3.

66. "Big Fish in Little Ponds," Time April 30, 1984, p. 62.

67. "Prize Briefly Frees Editor From Doghouse," Washington Post.

68. Albert and Marjorie Scardino interview by author, 27 April 1991.

69. "Goodbye, Gazette," Atlanta Constitution, February 4, 1985, sec. A., p. 8.

Exposing the foundation:
The cultural underpinnings of the Hutchins Commission

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Exposing the foundation:
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Abstract

The Commission on Freedom of the Press met during the mid-1940s to determine the nature of freedom of the press in twentieth-century America. Along with their expertise and intelligence, the commissioners brought the philosophical fabric of the first decades of the twentieth century. This broadcloth was woven from a succession of social movements including progressivism, authoritarianism, collectivism and nationalism as well as from the intellectual thought of the Chicago School and John Dewey.

This preliminary study presents these major impulses of thought as a framework from which the value and continuing relevance of the work of the Hutchins Commission can be analyzed.

Exposing the foundation:
The cultural underpinnings of the Hutchins Commission

This study is a preliminary inquiry into the relationships between American culture and the conception and decisions of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press (the Hutchins Commission). More specifically, it is an attempt to identify the relationships between commission members and social movements that were set in motion at the end of the nineteenth century, including progressivism, authoritarianism, collectivism and nationalism, and the intellectual thought of the Chicago School as represented by John Dewey. By examining the various individuals involved in the commission -- as influenced by the major impulses of thought -- the cultural significance of A Free and Responsible Press can be evaluated. This appraisal could then, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., wrote in the foreword of The Crisis of the Old Order, be understood "against the background of a generation's ideas, hopes and experience."

It is generally conceded that the commission report was one of the most forceful critiques of the press ever presented to the public by a respected group of intellectuals. It is, perhaps, the best statement of why the press is crucial to the American political system and why its freedom may be in jeopardy due to its inadequacies and abuses. In addition, the report stands as a product of a period of rapid advancements in mass communication, when people were intensely conscious of its potential, and when journalists were becoming aware of the dilemma of reconciling democratic ideals with the practical realities of the business of journalism. Previous studies have cited press criticism as the precursor of the commission.[1] This study places the commission's conceptual context in the philosophical landscape of the first decades of twentieth-century America. Within this groundwork rests the framework to accurately judge the value and continuing relevance of the commission's work.

The Hutchins Commission

In December 1942, publisher Henry Luce asked his friend, University of Chicago president Robert M. Hutchins, about freedom of the press and his obligations as a publisher. From this query was born the Commission on Freedom of the Press, an inquiry into freedom of the press to be headed by Hutchins and financed by Luce.[2]

The commission met at intervals of approximately every six weeks from December 1943 to September 1946, a total of 17 two-day or three-day meetings. From these meetings emerged the general report, A Free and Responsible Press, and four other volumes on special topics, and an essay by William Hocking.[3]

Citing the pressing need for information during a time of world crisis, Hutchins said in the commission's final report that the group had concentrated its efforts on determining the "role of the agencies of mass communication in the education of the people in public affairs." The report cited five "ideal demands of society for the communication of news and ideas:" 1. A truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning; 2. A forum for the exchange of comment and criticism; 3. The projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society; 4. The presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society; 5. Full access to the day's intelligence.[4]

In light of these ideals, the commission found freedom of the press in the United States endangered. It subsequently assigned the press the burden of accountability -- meaning that "the press must now take on the community's press objectives as its own objectives."[5]

Critics of the commission claimed the report lacked a "thorough moral foundation" and represented "superficial collectivism."[6] Despite the criticism, media accountability, subsequently reformulated by Theodore Peterson in Four Theories of the Press into the social responsibility theory of the press, has been one of the major normative concepts in media ethics since the 1940s.[7]

Although clearly outstanding in their respective fields, many of the commission's members were former government officials and were dedicated to carrying on the public service ideals that had taken hold among intellectuals from the Progressive Era onward. Several of them, including Archibald MacLeish, Beardsley Ruml, Harold Lasswell, John Clark, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Dickinson, Charles Merriam and George Shuster, as well as staff members Robert Leigh and Llewellyn White, had been -- or were at the onset of the commission's meetings -- consultants or staff members for various New Deal agencies. Members of the commission were also linked as alumni or faculty members to four universities. Hutchins, Luce, MacLeish and Reinhold Niebuhr were Yale graduates.[8] MacLeish, Dickinson, William Hocking and Zechariah Chafee, Jr. were associated with Harvard.[9] Graduates of Columbia University included Shuster, Schlesinger, Merriam, Hu Shi and Leigh.[10] Most importantly, perhaps, more than half of the commission, including Merriam, Lasswell, Chafee, Clark, Hutchins, Robert Redfield, and Ruml were associated with the University of Chicago as faculty or alumni and shared philosophical as well as political ideologies.[11]

The Chicago School

The pragmatism that John Dewey and his colleagues and their students collaborated on at the University of Chicago at the turn of the century was a distinctively American philosophy. It had its roots in James and Peirce, but what emerged from the efforts at the Chicago School was unique. The Chicago pragmatists saw both science and values arising from human action, and they proceeded to derive an entire philosophy from the analysis of action.

Because the Chicago philosophy acknowledged relevance between biology, psychology and sociology, it was able to provide a perspective for an array of disciplines. So the Chicago School was not merely a school in the sense that individuals working together were evolving a philosophy, but in that their work had effects in a cluster of fields of thought around philosophy. The areas of psychology, education, religion, sociology, economics and political science were particularly affected.[12]

The school began to take form in 1894 when Dewey came to Chicago from the University of Michigan and became head professor of philosophy. With him came assistant professor of philosophy George Herbert Mead. As the founder and guiding light of the Chicago School, Dewey's former colleagues paid careful attention to all that he did, with the result that Chicago students could point to Dewey as their mentor long after his departure to Columbia in 1904.[13]

Perhaps the most important single factor in the dissemination of ideas from the Philosophy Department in the beginning was the University Elementary School, or the Laboratory School, as it came to be known. Scholars came to teach and observe there and for many of them their interest in its educational theories led to an acquaintance with Dewey and his philosophy.[14]

Enthusiasm pervaded the university at the beginning of the century that was evidenced by the keen interest taken by faculty members in their colleagues' work. Chicago School graduate and faculty member Lasswell acknowledged faculty members Ruml and Merriam as "key figures in the interdisciplinary growth of the social sciences."[15] As evidenced by the numerous cross-references in their voluminous writings, faculty members not only shared a keen interest in each other's work, but promoted Chicago School philosophy in their own work. Graduate students were also caught up in the immense creative activity and enthusiasm of the school.[16]

In essence, the Chicago School came to an end in 1931 when President Robert M. Hutchins obtained a promise of funds from outside the university if Scott Buchanan was made chairman of the department. (Mead was serving as chairman following the retirement of James Tufts.) Under opposition, Hutchins withdrew his request for Buchanan, but not before Mead's recommendation that members of the department should start looking elsewhere had resulted in a rash of resignations.[17]

Political and Social Thought

Progressivism[18]

The seeds of the Progressive spirit germinated slowly in the years following the Civil War, fertilized by the often disparate values of reformers, displaced individuals and groups and an emerging generation of politicians sensitive to these new moods.[19] People sought some way of coming to terms with and asserting control over the increasingly complicated institutions of twentieth-century America. Progressivism involved a search for order: an effort to grapple with the inherent anarchy of economic life by introducing further elements of organization and stability to industrial capitalism.[20]

Progressives sought a more efficient system of production and distribution, more reliable executive and administrative decision-making, and reforms that could eliminate the danger of widespread social chaos.[21] Hutchins wrote:

> If a people does not appear to be capable of self-government, the aim of self-government should not be given up. The first priority is to do everything possible to develop the wisdom of the people through communication, education and law. The problem is not to figure out alternatives to democracy, but to make it work ...[22]

At the heart of the Progressive movement was an effort to synthesize theory and practice, liberty and community, and self and society. The movement was perfectly suited to the skills and ambitions of the intellectual community because they believed that America could be remodeled through the application of intelligence to social problems and that ideas alone could awaken public virtue. For the generation of intellectuals who came to maturity during these years, including members of the Hutchins Commission, the Progressive crusade offered an opportunity to influence policy, develop and publicize programs appropriate for a new society, and help generate a revolution in literary as well as in political life. Reforms were proposed which attempted to embrace every facet of the nation's experience -- offering what Christopher Lasch has called "political solutions for cultural problems and cultural solutions for political problems."[23]

Progressivism represented the first response of the twentieth century to the advancements which threatened to obliterate nineteenth-century America. Ironically, in their attempts to make sense out of the modern world with ideologies and forms of political action that blended old and new, many were perceived as radical innovators with profoundly conservative goals.[24]

As long as these impulses could be translated into concrete legislative proposals, particularly at the state level, Progressivism flourished. Trusting in the informed individual to promote and direct social action, however, progressives often mistook exposure of a problem for its solution and inevitably foundered on fundamental questions involving the structure and future course of American society.[25]

The hopes and optimism of the Progressive era finally became casualties of World War I. For most Americans the 1920s was a period of sheer survival, relegating Progressivism to a cluster of ideas and unrelated programs instead of a national political movement. But many were still entranced by the dream of a totally new society. For some liberals in the 1920s, the Progressive example was not so much forgotten as simply in need of redefinition and reapplication to contemporary issues.

Many intellectuals of the 1920s felt that nineteenth-century values had lingered into the modern world and had frozen America in attitudes totally inappropriate to twentieth-century conditions. By concentrating on values and life-styles, as opposed to questions of state and finance, intellectuals were able to deal with matters over which they might exert some influence. By arguing that the central dilemma of American life was its outmoded ideas and attitudes, they could point to change in consciousness as the only legitimate means of transforming society.[26] Man, so middle-class Americans were told by a new generation of intellectuals, could shape his own destiny. He could reform and improve his social and economic institutions, and the place to start was with the new industrial and financial empires.[27]

For John Dewey, American's central problem was one of cultural lag -- a conflict between industrialism and potential abundance on the one hand and a rigid adherence to capitalist values on the other. Only when men renounced the ideological heritage of the nineteenth century could science work to improve the quality of American life. Even though many intellectuals of the 1920s shared in Dewey's beliefs, when it came to formulating a program there was little agreement. With the growing liberalism of the decade, some progressives evolved into liberals. Others who remained true to their earlier views found the liberalism of the decade dangerous.

The depression only sharpened Dewey's reformism. More than ever, he found himself in public view advocating social reform. He reduced the issues of the depression to one central question:

> Are the people of the United States to control the government and to use it on behalf of the peace and welfare of society; or is control to continue to pass into the hands of small, powerful economic groups which use the machinery of administration and legislation for their own purposes?[28]

Authoritarianism

The vacuum left by Herbert Hoover's departure in 1932 following the election of Franklin Roosevelt helped generate a powerful impulse toward authoritarianism. This impulse was international in scope; as Americans went to the polls to elect a new leader, authoritarian and militaristic leaders abroad, notably in Germany and Japan, were consolidating their power and nurturing hopes of bigger gains.[29]

In the United States, part of this impulse toward authority was manifested in well-publicized demagoguery, typically by regional or faction-conscious spokesmen on the political right. Much was offered to believe in, and schemes and would-be leaders came from everywhere, including Louisiana governor Huey Long, Detroit's Father Charles Coughlin, Dr. Francis Townsend, Father Divine of Harlem, Guy

Ballard, and Arthur Bell -- who convinced some 14,000 Americans that the energy at the earth's core could be used to produce wealth and luxury for all.[30] At the peak of their popularity, between 1932 and about 1934, such schemes generated more enthusiasm than the Hoover administration's austere admonitions to have faith that recovery was on the way.[31]

The likely reason is that Long, Coughlin, Townsend and the others were charismatic, sharply defined, dynamic men who projected compelling images of leadership. How they might have fared in positions of real authority in the government was not the question. While Hoover and his dwindling group of supporters counseled caution and deliberation, these men called for action and aroused Americans to work for explicit goals.[32]

It is likely that a substantial part of the huge victory margin of Roosevelt in 1932 -- he carried 42 states to Hoover's six -- is attributable to this yearning for a strong national authority figure and a strong federal government. The people, wrote Frederick Lewis Allen, craved "leadership, the thrill of bold decision."[33]

Roosevelt's controlled experimentalism may have been a major source of vitality for the era. As Schlesinger wrote, Roosevelt approached massive unemployment and depression in a pragmatic spirit, "in a spirit which guaranteed the survival rather than the extinction of freedom, in the spirit which in time rekindled hope that free men could manage their own destinies."[34]

Even diehard Republicans and radicals were impressed by Roosevelt's swift and confident assumption of power and his alacrity in dealing with crises: the sense of momentum, command and hope perhaps was too invigorating and reassuring for second thoughts. But even Roosevelt's moving always, in his phrase, "slightly to the left of center" was an abbreviated version of Dewey's pragmatism -- Dewey's goals went well beyond Roosevelt's. Dewey believed

> liberalism must now become radical ... For the gulf between what the actual situation makes possible and the actual state itself is so great that it cannot be bridged by piecemeal policies undertaken ad hoc.[35]

Harvard philosopher Hocking, perhaps the most consequential voice of the Hutchins Commission, also suggested goals well beyond those of Roosevelt. He wrote:

> Economic processes constitute a single and healthy organism only when the totality of persons in a community who have a right to consume determine what is produced ...[36]

Collectivism

It was, ironically, the Roosevelt administration as much as any reform movement that prepared the way for the second major impulse of political and social thought in the 1930s. The social programs of the New Deal gave strong institutional ratification and reinforcement to the impulse toward collectivism by supporting the efforts of Americans to work together for the common good. Jerilyn McIntyre suggested:

> The New Deal's blend of a mixed economy and a managed society offered a way to reconcile individualism and collectivism without rejecting the values or disrupting the basic structure of American economic and political life.[37]

Agency after agency was created to promote collective self-help; the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Federal Arts Project. The National Industrial Recovery Administration and Agricultural Adjustment Act provided frameworks for collective action by businessmen and farmers, while the National Labor Relations Act recognized and fostered collective endeavors of workers. Some of these programs worked in widely varying ways and with quite different goals, but all shared a basic faith in the efficacy of common endeavor -- a faith stimulated at least in part by the larger impulse in the culture to which they also, of course, contributed.[38]

Hutchins Commission member Clark explained the prevailing assumption:

> A free system is one ... with a minimum of coercion and a maximum of reliance on voluntary action, including the voluntary assumption of the obligations that go with working together.[39]

Few Americans in the mid-thirties were not included in some form of federally encouraged social and economic collectivism, and only a few did not welcome it. As with the impulse toward authority, the implications of the impulse toward collectivism were obscured by its immediate benefits. The heyday of the impulse toward collectivism was between 1933 and about 1935, but its roots lay far in the past. Proponents of socialist thought had been erecting the intellectual scaffolding for collectivism in the United States for some time, most recently using as an inspiration the communist successes in the Soviet Union. Stalin's much-heralded emphasis on planning and cooperation and submergence of the individual in the society seemed to many Americans to be working miracles in economic growth and restoration of national unity and pride. The Soviet model appealed powerfully to American intellectuals not only for its planning and cooperation but also because it was a "symbolic suggestion of a new way of life." John Dewey favorably likened the Russia of the early 1930s to frontier American in its pioneering spirit and "collectivist mentality."[40] Cooperation was "indigenous to Americans," according to T.V. Smith, and the New Deal simply raised "connotative echoes in the culture organic to America."[41]

The Progressive era brought some reforms but only the most obvious problems were resolved; the fundamental social and economic structures stood virtually untouched. Even the romance of intellectuals with communist and socialist ideas in the 1920s caused no immediate or large-scale changes in the lives of ordinary Americans. It took the crushing collapse, disillusionment and desperation of the Depression to open the way to the possibility for substantial overhaul and real movement toward collectivist ideals. What most people sought above all else was a stable, ordered, coherent social order. The means to reach this goal were unclear, but, as Richard Pells wrote, it was the decade's "dominant assumption that one could overcome inner turmoil by becoming part of a stable community, that private problems could be solved through collective outlets." The individualism that had blossomed and been nurtured in the 1920s had, with the deepening of the Depression, become the "chief symbolic villain for most intellectuals" in the 1930s.[42] The "search for community," guided many intellectuals during the middle years of the Depression. Dewey suggested that an active, cooperative life in which individual differences merge into common interests was vital to democracy.

What probably cemented collectivism firmly into the foundation of the American system was Americans' direct experience with it in their daily lives, especially in the form of government programs. Federal collectivism was perhaps felt most intimately in rural America, where the Depression struck its hardest blows. At least 3.5 million rural households were on public or private relief at some time in the 1930s, and foreclosure or bankruptcy struck 750,000 farms between 1930 and 1935.[43]

Collectivism exerted a powerful influence on American thought and life in the middle 1930s. It overlapped with other influences but probably never before had so many Americans been willing to embrace the principle of common endeavor in order to benefit the greatest number.

Just as the successes of New Deal reforms had helped to foster the collectivist impulse, so did the excesses and increasingly apparent dangers posed by those programs help to dilute public enthusiasm for wholesale social and economic cooperation. By 1936 a generally widespread disillusionment with the early promise of New Deal collectivism was apparent. President Roosevelt himself, seemingly satisfied that most of his central legislative initiatives were safely underway, had begun to back off from his embrace of collectivist approaches to government. The 1936 election showed another sign of collectivism's decline: socialist and communist candidates together got only about a third of their combined vote in 1932.

Moreover, by 1936 events and political trends abroad were beginning to shape Americans' perceptions of collectivism. The intellectual's shining example of collectivism in action, the Soviet Union, began a ruthless purge of old Bolshevik heroes like Leon Trotsky. Americans were also watching with horror the growing hegemony of the National Socialists in Germany under Hitler. When the Soviet Union joined with the Nazis in a nonaggression treaty in August, 1939, the remaining admirers of the Soviet experiment seemed to disappear overnight.

If the early years of the Depression had radicalized many intellectuals and made ordinary Americans amenable to collectivist approaches to reform, the shocks of the later years of the decade were beginning to turn a large proportion of them into liberty-loving patriots.

By 1939 Archibald MacLeish was telling his countrymen that "America was promises," the "promises are for the taking," and freedom must be defended.[44]

Nationalism

What these phenomena signified was the emergence of the final major impulse of American thought in the 1930s -- a resurgent affirmation of American traditionalism and democracy that continued after the United States declared war. Just as many Americans had sought strong leadership in 1932 and 1933 they felt by 1938 and 1939 a need to reassert fundamental American principles and traditions. The goal this time was not reform; for isolationists it was a kind of withdrawal, for interventionists it was a psychological girding for battle.

As part of the preparation for struggle, Americans began reminding themselves what their traditional values meant to them; often those values, when examined, tended to coalesce into equality of opportunity and the virtues of self-government. Robert Hutchins reflected this trend with:

> The supporters of democracy must ... [believe] that it is the most just form of government, since justice requires self-government, and that it is in any event the most desirable, since it rests on the wisdom of the people, which extends to a vision of the common good,

> and a better vision than any man or group of men is likely to have.[45]

His work in the education movement, along with that of commission members Niebuhr and Shuster, attempted to give purpose and meaning to the disordered lives of Americans.[46]

By the end of the 1930s, Americans had turned to administrative authority as an escape from thinking further about morality and politics, democracy and socialism, self and society that intellectuals such as Dewey had urged. There was a renewed interest in the average American in the late thirties: not the impoverished, desperate American who was the supposed beneficiary of the reforms of the mid-thirties, but the ordinary middle-class citizen who had weathered the rigors of the Depression and could take on any challenge and emerge victorious. Throughout the decade the edge of social criticism had been tempered by a compulsion to reassure people that things would doubtlessly improve. Thus the attack on the capitalist misuse of science and technology led not to a more humane industrialism as Dewey had prescribed but to a rediscovery of tradition and national identity and the common man.

The intellectuals' zeal to serve society and shape the course of history led them gradually to suspend their critical faculties. Inexorably, they moved from rebellion to responsibility, from dissent to affirmation, from an interest in the avant-garde to a fascination with the mass media, from an unlimited investigation of social issues to a ritual glorification of America. But as the generation of intellectuals who had reached maturity during the Progressive era, the 1920s and the Depression lost the energy and imagination to commit themselves to the continuing struggle for radical change, they left behind a legacy of unsolved dilemmas with which postwar America would be confronted.

Conclusion

Most of the members of the Hutchins Commission came to maturity during the first decades of the twentieth century.[47] They expressed a political world view that encompassed various ideals of the American reform tradition as it had evolved during their lives. Their pragmatism reflected the functionalism that characterized progressivism in the 1920s and 1930s.[48] By stopping short of advocating government ownership of media and calling for the media to carry diverse views (despite considerable doubt about the rationality of humanity and its ability to discover truth), the commission's report struck a balance between individualism and collectivism. It contained the very blend of libertarianism and collectivist press theory that the intellectual progeny of the first decades of the twentieth century would advocate. Their reluctance to break with traditional values -- such as democracy and freedom of the press -- was characteristic of nationalism in the early 1940s and the changing face of liberalism.

The commission was profoundly influenced by the ideology of John Dewey. The foundation of the commission's report rested solidly on a suspicion of the press as a potential instrument of suppression and deceit. Dewey had warned that the factors which made the press useful to society could also "create a problem for a democracy instead of providing a final solution."[49] But there was also a profound regard for the benefits of a free press. With a voice akin to others' on the commission, Schlesinger wrote, "Our national life has been healthy and virile because of the opportunity to criticize, protest and espouse unpopular causes."[50]

The philosophical framework the members of the commission brought to the inquiry is evident in the nature of their final report. It shows both a profound regard for the principle of freedom of the press as well as the skepticism characteristic of liberal thought in the perceived need for organizational structure. At the commission's meeting in June, 1943, Ruml said:

> order must have within it enough freedom to provide a generative force for evolution, but not so much as to destroy order.[51]

The serious debate by the commission concerning the nature of the council which would oversee media and the decision to avoid direct governmental intervention reflected the pragmatic philosophy of Dewey. His suspicion of social doctrines but faith in communication as an educational tool was appreciable. Lasswell's explanation of how responsibility was to be interpreted reverberated with the Chicago philosophy:

> For our present purpose, this does not mean formal legal requirements, but rather those more general and elastic requirements imposed by "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."[52]

The report also reflected the social nature of action as described by Dewey. Defining accountability so "the press must now take on the community's press objectives as its own objectives" is concordant with Dewey's philosophy.[53]

Remarkably, the commission lacked one of the fundamental tenets of both Dewey and the commission itself -- diversity. Dewey believed the diversity of free expression could remain alive even while liberalism went on to "socialize the forces of production."[54] At the commission's meeting in May 1946 Niebuhr emphasized that

> the primary threat to freedom comes out of the centralization of power in the means of communication...[55]

The commission's concern over media monopolies reiterated Dewey's 1931 concern that small, powerful economic groups might "use the machinery of administration and legislation for their own purposes."[56] It was, apparently, initially perceived to be of sufficient importance to include economists John Clark and Beardsley Ruml on the commission.

The lack of philosophical diversity in the commission may have been a manifestation of the growing sense of nationalism at the time -- an attempt to protect some of the same values they were asked to evaluate. More likely, it was due to the involvement of sponsor Luce in the formation of the commission. Despite efforts to hide his connection with this process, Luce's hand is revealed in examination of correspondence in the Robert M. Hutchins Papers at the Joseph Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago.[57] Luce's nationalistic fervor and moral determination in the late 1930s and early 1940s as well as his penchant for creating small groups to resolve Lucian dilemmas, may have resulted in the selection of like-minded intellectuals.

Additional research involving the papers of all commission members as well as those of Luce may provide a clearer, more extensive picture of the motivations and philosophies of the individuals involved. Many of the primary sources used in this paper were written several years following the inquiry and may reflect ideologies somewhat different from those of the commission participants in the 1940s. In addition, a careful examination of individual philosophies would offer a complete picture of the ideology of the Chicago School and the commissioners.

NOTES

[1] Margaret Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," *Journalism Monographs* No. 49. (Minneapolis: Association for Education in Journalism, May, 1977); Barbara Hartung, "Attitudes Toward the Applicability of the Hutchins Report on Press Responsibility," *Journalism Quarterly* 58: 428-433; Jerilyn McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark: The Hutchins Commission and Freedom of the Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4(1987); Harvey Saalberg, "The Canons of Journalism: A 50-Year Perspective." *Journalism Quarterly* 50:731-734; and Robert A. Rutland *Newsmongers: Journalism is the Life of the Nation, 1690-1972* (New York: The Dial Press, 1973).

[2] $200,000 came from Luce (Time Inc.), and $15,000 from Encyclopeadia Britannica.

[3] The four volumes were *Peoples Speaking to Peoples* by Llewellyn White and Robert D. Leigh (1946); *Freedom of the Movies* by Ruth A. Inglis (1947); *The American Radio* by Llewellyn White (1947); and *Government and Mass Communications* by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. (1947). Two other projects were planned but never published -- by Milton Stewart and Harold Lasswell, and John Grierson.

[4] Robert Hutchins, foreword from *A Free and Responsible Press* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947).

[5] Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press*, p. 126.

[6] William Rivers, Wilbur Schramm and Clifford Christians, *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980), p. 50.

[7] Jerilyn S. McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark: The Hutchins Commission and Freedom of the Press" in *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987), p. 136.

[8] Archibald MacLeish followed Henry Luce by four years at both Hotchkiss and Yale. He was one of the eighteen people listed on the first masthead of *Time*. Eleven of those eighteen were Yale graduates. MacLeish was also a frequent contributor to Luce's *Fortune*.

Time and *Life* introduced the theories of Reinhold Niebuhr. Luce later established the Henry W. Luce (Luce's father) Visiting Professorship of World Christianity at Niebuhr's Union Theological Seminary.

[9] MacLeish, Dickinson and Chafee became friends as a result of their experiences at Harvard. MacLeish claimed that Chafee and Dickinson were significantly influenced by Roscoe Pound at Harvard and much of Chafee's work was written "under the influence" of Pound. Pound had spent three years in Chicago at the time the school of pragmatism was evolving under Dewey. At Harvard Law School Pound echoed the social and ethical emphasis of the Chicago School. See Donald L. Smith's *Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Defender of Liberty and Law*, p. 88.

[10] Ibid., p. 154. Hu Shi was an early exponent of pragmatism in China, which he learned, according to his autobiography, from John Dewey at Columbia.

[11] Commissioners included: Robert M. Hutchins, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., John M. Clark, John Dickinson, William E. Hocking, Harold D. Lasswell, Archibald MacLeish, Charles E. Merriam, Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Redfield, Beardsley Ruml, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and George N. Shuster. Advisors were: John Grierson, Hu Shih, Jacques Maritain and Kurt Riezler.

[12] Ibid., p. vii.

[13] Ibid., p. ix. Differences between Dewey and the university's president, William R. Harper, led to Dewey's leaving Chicago in 1904. Dewey apparently resigned over what he considered a breach of faith by Harper when Dewey's Laboratory School was incorporated into the School of Education.

[14] Ibid., p. 10.

[15] See Harold Lasswell in the introduction to A Pre-View of Policy Sciences (New York: American Elsevier Publishing Co., Inc., 1971). All three men were members of the Hutchins Commission.

[16] Rucker, The Chicago Pragmatists, p. 14.

[17] Mead accepted an appointment at Columbia but died before he could fill it. Tufts went to the University of California at Los Angeles, Edwin Burtt went to Cornell, Arthur Murphy to Brown, and Everett Hall to Ohio State. Addison Moore had retired in 1929.

[18] My identification of these impulses is not original, but a synthesis derived from several works on American culture of the 1930s, notably Richard H. Pells, Radical Visions and American Dreams (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); Charles C. Alexander, Nationalism in American Thought, 1930-1945, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969) and; Robert L. McConnell's Ph.D. dissertation, "Hollywood and Political Issues: Three Films of the Depression Era" (University of Iowa, 1977).

[19] Pells, Radical Visions and American Dreams, p. 3.

[20] Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York, 1967).

[21] Pells, Radical Visions and American Dreams, p. 3.

[22] Robert Hutchins, Two Faces of Federalism (Santa Barbara, CA: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1961), p. 12.

Commission members Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Redfield and George Shuster were later involved with the Fund for the Republic while Hutchins was its leader (1953-1977). Shuster was one of the original directors of the Fund and later became consultant to the New York office.

[23] Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963 (New York: 1965), p. 163.

[24] See Rodney Carlisle, "The Political Ideas and Influence of William Randolph Hearst, 1928-1936," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1965.

[25] Pells, Radical Visions and American Dreams, p. 10.

[26] Ibid., p. 24.

[27] Ellis Hawley, The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 6.

[28] John Dewey, "Policies for a New Party," New Republic, XVI (April 8, 1931), p. 202.

[29] McConnell, "Hollywood and Political Issues: Three Films of the Depression Era", p. 13.

[30] Dixon Wecter, The Age of the Great Depression 1929-1941 (New York: Macmillan, 1948) p. 217; Alan Brinkley, Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and the Great Depression (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 100.

[31] Donald R. McCoy, Angry Voices: Left-of-Center Politics in the New Deal Era (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Press, 1959), p. 156.

[32] McConnell, "Hollywood and Political Issues: Three Films of the Depression Era", p. 15.

[33] Frederick L. Allen, Since Yesterday: The Nineteen-Thirties in America (New York: Harpers, 1939), p. 105.

[34] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Sources of the New Deal in The New Deal, ed. Otis L. Graham, Jr. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 121.

[35] John Dewey, Liberalism and Social Action (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), p. 54.

[36] William Hocking, "The Future of Liberalism," The Nation, CXXXIX (July 25, 1934), 93-96.

[37] Jerilyn McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark: The Hutchins Commission and Freedom of the Press" in Critical Studies in Mass Communication 4 (1987), p. 139.

[38] For whom the "greater good" was designed is debatable. Three book-length studies of racial issues in the New Deal years include Richard Sterner's The Negro's Share, (New York: 1943), Dan T. Carter's Scottsboro (New York, 1969), and Raymond Wolter's Negroes and the Great Depression: The Problem of Economic Recovery (Westport, Conn., 1970).

[39] John M. Clark, The Ethical Basis of Economic Freedom, (The Kazanjian Foundation Lectures, 1955), p. 8. Clark was a professor of political economy at the University of Chicago from 1915 to 1926.

[40] Pells, Radical Visions and American Dreams, p. 365.

[41] T.V. Smith, "The New Deal as a Cultural Phenomenon," in Ideological Differences and World Order: Studies in the Philosophy and Science of the World's Cultures, ed. F.S.C. Northrop (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949), pp. 208-9. Smith came to the Chicago Philosophy Department as a graduate student in 1921 and was appointed instructor in 1923.

[42] Pells, Radical Visions and American Dreams, pp. 63-75.

[43] Dixon Wecter, The Age of the Great Depression 1929-1941 (New York: Macmillan, 1948) pp. 132-133, 135.

[44] For the 25th anniversary of "The New Republic" in November 1939 MacLeish wrote the poem "America Was Promises" -- exhorting readers to seize hold of older ideals.

[45] Hutchins, Two Faces of Federalism, p. 12.

[46] Alexander, Nationalism in American Thought, 1930-1945, p. 163.

[47] They ranged in age from three to twenty-four years old at the turn of the century. Hocking and Shuster were the commission's senior members, Redfield the youngest.

[48] McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark: The Hutchins Commission and Freedom of the Press," p. 142.

[49] John Dewey, Freedom and Culture (New York: Putnam, 1939), p. 42.

[50] Schlesinger, The American As Reformer, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 96.

In The Vital Center, p. xxiii, Schlesinger claims he was influenced by the pragmatism of Dewey and James. He was also deeply impressed by commission member Reinhold Niebuhr, whose works, he said, revealed to those of his own generation "a new dimension of experience -- the dimension of anxiety, guilt and corruption." He dedicated The Crisis of the Old Order to Niebuhr.

[51] Beardsley Ruml, June 1944, Commission on Freedom of the Press Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

[52] Lasswell, Language of Politics, p. 37.

[53] Hutchins, A Free and Responsible Press.

[54] Dewey, Liberalism and Social Action, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), p. 54.

[55] Reinhold Niebuhr, May 7-9 1946, Commission on Freedom of the Press Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Niebuhr's political and social philosophy evolved from Marxism and membership in the Socialist Party in the early 1930s to "all measures short of war" conservatism by 1941.

[56] Dewey, "Policies for a New Party," p. 202.

[57] Unpublished paper, "Genesis of the Hutchins Commission: Henry R. Luce and the Commission on Freedom of the Press" by Jane S. McConnell, 1993. Luce had veto power if not complete control of the process of selection.

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"THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS": Katherine Anne Porter and Journalism

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"THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS": Katherine Anne Porter and Journalism

The study of literary journalism most often focuses on journalists who share with fiction writers techniques such as narration, description, and dialogue, but such a study omits half the equation. On the other side are literary figures such as Stephen Crane, Samuel Clemens, Ernest Hemingway and others, who often began their literary careers smelling ink and newsprint and collaborating with daily newspaper editors.

One modern Southern woman writer is among those who learned a way of seeing and conceptualizing events during her abbreviated media career. Katherine Anne Porter wrote for a Fort Worth tabloid, *The Critic*, and for Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* (1918-1919). A study of her work reveals the importance of place and the supremacy of the moment and--with the exception of *The Never-Ending Wrong*--indicates a desire to stand outside the action.

As a former newspaperwoman, Porter understood the significance of observation but did not feel a compulsion to interpret current events. A strong journalistic influence--not always an obvious part of her memoirs or published conversations with her--emerges in an examination of three selected works, a novella, *Pale Horse, Pale Rider;* an extended essay, *The Never-Ending Wrong;* and a short story, "The Grave."

"'The Truth About What Happens': Katherine Anne Porter and Journalism" explores Porter's use of style and point of view and takes seriously the autobiographical allusions to her early media career. It also reveals her desperate longing to believe in a personal, individual truth.

Her career in media most certainly affected her development as a writer of fiction. This study focuses on the style, structure, and intent of *Pale Horse, Pale Rider, The Never-Ending Wrong* and "The Grave." The importance of newspaper work in the fictional references to editors and newsrooms is obvious; less perceptible is the influence of journalism on Porter's understanding of the significance of perception as reality, on her interest in historical event and on her devotion to detail.

In her article "Katherine Anne Porter, Journalist," biographer Joan Givner acknowledges Porter's rejection of her own work as a journalist and calls it "unfortunate" because it "deflected attention from material which is crucial to the understanding of Porter's life and art." She then cites a comment Porter made late in her career:

> I forgive that critic here and now, and forever, for calling me a "newspaper woman" in the public prints. I consider it actionable libel, but, as is too often the case in these incidents, he has a small patch of solid ground under him. . .
>
> Fifty-odd years ago, for eight short months of my ever-lengthening (or shortening?) life, I did have a kind of a job on a newspaper, *The Rocky Mountain News*![1]

However, having worked in media and having been captivated by real people in real situations, Porter used what she had learned as an observer of human nature and as a news and feature writer. Porter saw into the life of things and found what fellow Southerner Eudora Welty called "my real subject: human relationships."[2]

Furthermore, Porter exhibited the single most important trait for any successful journalist: an obsession with the people around her. She once said of herself: "I have a personal and instant interest in every human being that comes within ten feet of me, and I have never seen any two alike, but I discover the most marvelous differences."[3]

The pathway between journalism and fiction for Porter cannot be said to be clearly definable, but it can be said to be significant. Her frequent use of fly-on-the-wall point of view; her attention to detail; her reference to newspapers; her devotion to description and place; her concern with chronology, event and narrative; and her passion for capturing the moment may be said to have been born during her early experiences in newsrooms.

Pale Horse, Pale Rider

Katherine Anne Porter described much of her own journalistic career in *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, a novella. The title comes from a spiritual quoted by Miranda, the heroine: "'Pale horse, pale rider, done taken my lover away.'"[4] In the novel, Miranda and her friend Towney are banished to routine jobs at a newspaper, one to the theater beat, the other to the society beat.

Before the popular journalistic notion that truth is often a matter of perspective or vantage point, reporters were asked to be objective and to cover both sides of the story (as if only two existed). While Porter worked for newspapers in Illinois, Texas, and Colorado, the prevailing philosophy was that newspapers printed the truth (or ought to).

A recurring theme in Porter's novels and short stories is the longing for personal truth; for example, in *Old Mortality,* Miranda dismisses "other people's memory of the past"[5] and establishes her independence. Miranda thinks:

> Ah, but there is my own life to come yet, she thought, my own life now and beyond. I don't want any promises. I won't have false hopes, I won't be romantic about myself. I can't live in their world any longer, she told herself, listening to the voices back of her. Let them tell their stories to each other. Let them go on explaining how things happened. I don't care. At least I can know the truth about what happens to me, she assured herself silently, making a promise to herself, in her hopefulness, her ignorance. (p. 221)

Although Porter knows that Miranda is destined to fail, she is sympathetic in her portrayal of her heroine.

In *Pale Horse, Pale Rider,* Miranda seeks the same assurances that she can discern truth. Porter lets Towney say with sarcasm, "I read it in a New York newspaper, so it's bound to be true" (p. 284). As a journalist familiar with the William Randolph Hearst-Joseph Pulitzer-Adolph Ochs newspaper wars from the early 1880s to 1900, Towney understands the irony of her words, and Porter seems to wish that a newspaper's factual account were reliable and that the account were truth itself.

Instead, yellow journalists (a term derived from the fact that Hearst and Pulitzer fought over ownership of Richard Outcault's cartoon strip "The Yellow Kid") told the truth only when it was sensational enough to sell newspapers. Only Ochs succeeded because he promised to provide "all the news that's fit to print" and then followed through.

In *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, Porter deals fictionally with two events in her own life: her work as a reporter for the *Rocky Mountain News* from 1918-1919 (she wrote 81 stories with bylines between Feb. 18, 1919, and Aug. 17, 1919) and her near-fatal illness during an epidemic that struck Denver in the fall of 1918.

Porter's journalism career had begun several years before her often-chronicled time at the *Rocky Mountain News*, however. Porter moved to Chicago when she was 21 and worked as a reporter for a short time (until she was distracted by watching a film in production, went back to the newspaper five days later, was paid $18, and was immediately fired).

She then worked for a tabloid in Fort Worth before moving from Texas to Colorado in 1917 with a fellow journalist, Kitty Barry Crawford, whose husband was a news editor and had owned *The Critic*. The friends rented a cabin on Cheyenne Mountain near Colorado Springs.

Porter later moved to Denver, rented a room in a boardinghouse at 1510 York St., and became a reporter for the *Rocky Mountain News*, then at 1720 Welton St., earning approximately $20 per week. She reviewed books, plays and concerts; interviewed celebrities; and rewrote crime stories. According to scholar Enrique Hank Lopez, Porter's "incorruptible tell-it-like-it-is attitude"[6] was later adopted by Miranda in *Pale Horse, Pale Rider.*

The novel also chronicles the flu epidemic that hit Denver during Porter's time at the *Rocky Mountain News.* Porter's new love (accurately named Adam in the novel) died, and she became seriously ill herself. Porter had met Adam Barclay, a lieutenant, at the Tabor Grand Opera House in Denver. In the late fall of 1918, both Porter and her beloved contracted the flu. He died.

The pale rider of the text is, of course, Death, and during her illness Porter believed she was dying; her hair turned white and she became crippled when one leg swelled from phlebitis. Quoted in an article in *The Denver Post* March 22, 1956, Porter remembered the epidemic: "I was taken ill with the flu. They gave me up. The paper had my obit set in type."

Asked about Adam, Porter--fighting back tears--said, "It's in the story. He died. The last I remember seeing him. . . It's a true story. . . It seems to me true that I died then, I died once, and I have never feared death since."[7] (The event which precipitated the 1956 interview was a planned television adaptation of *Pale Horse, Pale Rider.)*

Porter also wrote of that period of her life: "My mood for several years thereafer was that it was not a world worth living in."[8] She treats the experience fictionally by describing Miranda's "lost rapture":

> There was no escape. Dr. Hildesheim, Miss Tanner, the nurses in the diet kitchen, the chemist, the surgeon, the precise machine of the hospital, the whole humane conviction and custom of society, conspired to pull her inseparable rack of bones and wasted flesh to its feet, to put in order her disordered mind,

> and to set her once more safely in the road that would lead her again to death. (p. 314)

In the novel, Miranda's experience and salary certainly reflect accounts of Porter's early days as a reporter. Asked for money to support the war effort, Miranda says in *Pale Horse, Pale Rider,* "I have eighteen dollars a week and not another cent in the world. I simply cannot buy anything" (p. 273). She also describes the exhaustion and recurring deadlines of newspaper work in the novel. Porter writes:

> After working for three years on a morning newspaper she had an illusion of maturity and experience; but it was fatigue merely, she decided, from keeping what she had been brought up to believe were unnatural hours, eating casually at dirty little restaurants, drinking bad coffee all night, and smoking too much. (p. 280)

With humor and obvious first-hand knowledge, Porter describes Miranda's conflicts with irate readers and impatient editors. The descriptions of the newsroom (where people sat on her desk and where she heard the incessant "rattle of typewriters" and the "steady rumble of presses"--p. 282) are realistic, as are Porter's memories of rigid stylistic principles:

> They lolled away, past the Society Editor's desk, past Bill the City Editor's desk, past the long copydesk where old man Gibbons sat all night shouting at intervals, "Jarge! Jarge!" and the copyboy would come flying. "Never say *people* when you

> mean *persons,"* old man Gibbons had instructed Miranda, "and never say *practically,* say *virtually,* and don't for God's sake ever so long as I am at this desk use the barbarism *inasmuch* under any circumstances whatsoever. Now you're educated, you may go." (p. 274)

In her1961 thesis at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Kathryn Adams Sexton documents her interviews with those who worked with Porter at the *Rocky Mountain News* in 1918. She says that Bill, the city editor, is William C. Shanklin; Old Man Gibbons is Frank McClelland; Jarge is George Day, the copy boy (later the Rev. George T. Day); Mary Townsend is Porter's friend Eva Chappell; Charles E. Lounsbury is Chuck Rouncivale, sports editor.[9]

One of Sexton's sources also remembers Adam as a "tall, blonde, debonair, and young lieutenant who called for Miss Porter at the *News* office during their short acquaintance."[10]

Articles in the *Rocky Mountain News* attest to the seriousness of the flu epidemic in Denver. According to Sexton, the epidemic raged in the Army camps in late September, and by Oct. 6, public places in Denver were closed to help contain the virus. By Nov. 12, the "flu ban was listed, and theaters and places of amusement were again opened,"[11] Sexton writes.

After her experiences in Chicago, Fort Worth, and Denver, Porter moved to New York (1919), Mexico (1920), and back to Fort Worth (1921) to write for a trade magazine. In 1963 in an interview in the *Paris Review,* Porter "indicated that it was better for a writer to work as a waitress than as a newspaperwoman; it was better to take dull jobs that would not take all her mind or time,"[12] according to George Hendrick in *Katherine Anne Porter.*

Porter's career as a journalist was prompted by her need to support herself until she could become known as a writer of fiction, although she never became wealthy. Shortly before Porter died at the age of 90, she was living in a four-story brownstone house on East 65th Street in New York City. (Porter lived in the upper two floors of the house and rented the ground floor to others.) She left journalism--not primarily because of its low salaries and long days--but because she valued the writing of fiction more than the writing of news and features.

Porter boasted a relatively small canon when she died Sept. 18, 1980, in the Carriage Hill Nursing Home in Silver Springs, Md. Her works include *Flowering Judas and Other Stories; Pale Horse, Pale Rider; The Leaning Tower and Other Stories; The Days Before;* and *Ship of Fools.* However, she won great literary acclaim for the short stories and novellas she wrote primarily between 1922 and 1940, and her novel, *The Ship of Fools* (1962), won her popular and limited financial success.

The Collected Stories of Katherine Anne Porter (1965) won her both the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award for Fiction in 1966. In 1967, she received the Gold Medal for Fiction of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. (The award is given only once every five years and had previously gone to none other than William Faulkner.) Howard Payne University in Brownwood, Texas, bestowed an honorary doctorate on Porter during the first symposium on her works in 1976.

Porter never acknowledged the debt she owed to her training and experience as a journalist, and most critics have avoided assessing it. In one newspaper article published in *The Denver Post* Jan. 31, 1937, one unnamed newspaper writer ventures:

> After cultivating an unusual gift for word arrangements, which captivated a large reading public when she was a Denver newspaper reporter, Katherine Anne Porter has been designated to receive one of the four $2500 fellowship awards by the Book of the Month Club to "writers whose works are insufficiently read."[13]

In addition to the long hours and poor pay of the working journalist, Porter struggled with the sexism implicit in the newsrooms of the early 1900s. She often was given stories considered the domain of women. One biographer says of Porter's earliest newspaper assignments:

> It was a huge brawling city, seething with surface excitements, particularly so for a young convent girl. . . But the articles she wrote had nothing to do with that aspect of Chicago; her assignments were those generally given to female reporters--wedding notices, obituaries and cultural activities, plus filling in as a coffee-maker and sandwich-getter for the editorial staff. Crime stories and political scandals were the exclusive province of male reporters.[14]

Hired briefly by *The Critic* in Fort Worth in 1917, Porter wrote society columns, fashion news, and drama reviews for the weekly tabloid that was devoted to politics, drama, and local events.

The woman who would one day win a Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award was assigned to stories about music clubs. One critic includes a particularly poor excerpt from one of Porter's stories: "The music club is organizing Sing Songs, where our soldier boys may harmonize together quite chummily."[15] She also wrote society columns, fashion news and drama reviews.

When Porter applied for the job at the *Rocky Mountain News,* the editor cited her lack of experience (a fair claim) and was "shocked to find that the applicant, K. Porter, was a woman,"[16] records Joan Givner in her biography *Katherine Anne Porter: A Life.*

Porter took her experience with the *Rocky Mountain News* and created the Blue Mountain *News* of *Pale Horse, Pale Rider.* In the novel Miranda strikes up a friendship with Mary Townsend, the society editor, at the *News.* Porter writes of the two women reporters with a compassion born of experience:

> [Mary Townsend's] column was called Ye Towne Gossyp, so of course everybody called her Towney. Miranda and Towney had a great deal in common, and liked each other. They had both been real reporters once, and had been sent together to "cover" a scandalous elopement in which no marriage had taken place, after all, and the recaptured girl, her face swollen, had sat with her mother who was moaning steadily under a mound of blankets. They had both wept painfully and implored the young reporters to suppress the worst of the story. They had suppressed it, and the rival newspaper printed it all the next day. Miranda and Towney had then taken their punishment

> together, and had been degraded publicly to routine female jobs, one to the theaters, the other to society. (pp. 274-75)

Porter implies that concern for the objects of the news story was seen as weakness by the male editors and disdained as "female" failure or poor judgment. Their "punishment" was to be relegated to female news beats--always frivolous and undemanding.

In a review May 4, 1919, in the *Rocky Mountain News,* Porter writes of the stereotypically virtuous and insipid women in the dramatic productions of the day: "We are deadly weary of the women who kneel, in song and story, at the feet of the world asking forgiveness for problematical errors. Why don't they stand on their feet and say: 'Yes, I did it. What are you going to do about it, my friends?'"[17] Porter believed in the equality of professional women and challenged herself never to "kneel. . . at the feet of the world."

The Never-Ending Wrong

An example of Porter's personal investment in event and of her longing to believe in society and in the judicial system is her book The Never-Ending Wrong." The extended essay is a severely flawed piece of literature, but it remains a testament to Porter's courage. In the foreword, Porter writes:

> This book is not for the popular or best-selling list for a few weeks or months. It is a plain, full record of a crime that belongs to history.

> When a reporter from a newspaper here in Maryland asked to talk to me, he said he had heard that I was writing another book. . . what about?. . . I gave him the title and the names of Sacco and Vanzetti. There was a wavering pause. . . then: "Well, I don't really know anything about them. . . for me it's just history."
>
> It is my conviction that when events are forgotten, buried in the cellar of the page--they are no longer even history.[18]

Ironically, by compromising the focus and style of *The Never-Ending Story*--by denying it placement in the "popular or best-selling list for a few weeks or months"--Porter relegated the arrest, trial and execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti to the very place she dreaded--the unpopular and unread "cellar of the page."

Porter became interested in the trial of a shoemaker and a fisherman, both accused of a violent robbery and murder on April 15, 1920, in South Braintreee, Mass. The Italians were political activists, and Porter and her group, which boasted literary notables like John Dos Passos and Edna St. Vincent Millay, suspected the motives of those who arrested and sentenced the two.

Those who opposed the verdict believed that Sacco and Vanzetti had been found guilty primarily because they had been called "foreigners" and "anarchists" throughout the trial. The period after the end of World War I was characterized by heavy pressure toward ethnic unification, Americanization and forced culturalization. It also was the end of a massive immigration period and was a time of economic chaos.

Documenting the hatred the public felt toward Sacco and Vanzetti, Porter writes in *The Never-Ending Story:*

> Judge Webster Thayer, during the Sacco-Vanzetti episode, was heard to boast while playing golf, "Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards?" and the grim little person named Rosa Baron. . . who was head of my particular group during the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations in Boston snapped at me when I expressed the wish that we might save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti: "Alive--what for? They are no earthly good to us alive." (pp. 5-6)

Although modern reporters have abandoned for all time the notion that objectivity is possible in news coverage, Porter became overly involved in the case, making her suspect as a witness. The same accusations leveled against Truman Capote (as he both describes and creates the character Perry Smith in *In Cold Blood)* can be leveled against Porter and her treatment of Sacco and Vanzetti. She writes:

> They were put to death in the electric chair at Charlestown Prison at midnight on the 23rd of August, 1927, a desolate dark midnight, a night for perpetual remembrance and mourning. I was one of the many hundreds who stood in anxious vigil watching the light in the prison tower, which we had been told would fail at the moment of death; it was a moment of strange heartbreak. (p. 8)

The melodrama in the passage is unlike Porter's carefully crafted tales of a young female reporter in Denver and two children exploring a graveyard. The narrative becomes an essay, personal and compelling, but it is not straight news, a feature, an editorial or even an example of commentary. Read as if it were a journal, *The Never-Ending Story* chronicles Porter's own political development more effectively than it ever addresses the charges against Sacco and Vanzetti. Explaining her disillusionment with communism, for example, Porter writes:

> I flew off Lenin's locomotive and his vision of history in a wide arc in Boston, Massachusetts, on August 21, 1927; it was two days before the putting to death of Sacco and Vanzetti, to the great ideological satisfaction of the Communist-headed group with which I had gone up to Boston. It was exactly what they had hoped for and predicted from the first: another injustice of the iniquitous capitalistic system against the working class. (p. 20)

When Porter marched in protest against the impending executions, she was arrested, released on bail and re-arrested in a recurring, ritualistic manner. As she said, "My elbow was always taken quietly by the same mild little blond officer, day after day; he was very Irish, very patient, very damned bored with the whole incomprehensible show." (p. 25)

Porter includes dialogue between "her policeman" and herself, lending even more support to the sense that *The Never-Ending Story* is a personal memoir of a public controversy (Porter acknowledges, "It is hard to remember anything perfectly straight, accurate"--pp. 31-32) and not a news story designed to inform or persuade. Her disdain for those appointed to the latter task is apparent in the piece when she describes "several of the more enterprising young reporters. . . swarming over the scene like crows to a freshly planted cornfield" (p. 36).

Porter calls the execution a "terrible wrong" that was perpetrated "not only against the two men" but "against all of us, against our common humanity and our shared will to avert what we believed to be not merely a failure in the use of the instrument of the law, an injustice committed through mere human weakness and misunderstanding, but a blindly arrogant, self-righteous determination not to be moved by any arguments, the obstinate assumption of the infallibility of a handful of men intoxicated with the vanity of power and gone mad with wounded self-importance" (p. 43).

From her post outside the prison, Porter recalls her horror at the execution: "Life felt very grubby and mean, as if we were all of us soiled and disgraced and would never in this world live it down" (p. 45). That sense led her to the title, which she bases on the "anguish that human beings inflict on each other--the never-ending wrong, forever incurable" (p. 62).

The Never-Ending Wrong cannot compete with the remainder of Porter's canon. "The Grave," for example, demonstrates mastery of the short-story genre and of language itself. But the extended essay does provide another glimpse into Porter's connection with historical event and her desire to record and understand it. Ironically, in this case her rejection of the formulas she learned while writing for newspapers hampered her and damaged her art.

"The Grave"

After Porter's stint as a newspaperwoman, it is no surprise that she deals in her fiction with the difficulty of a woman's choosing her identity in spite of the disapproval of society. It is also no surprise that Porter emphasizes the values considered by her culture to be important primarily to women.

In "The Grave," Porter tells of nine-year-old Miranda exploring an old family graveyard with her brother. Not fond of dolls, Miranda wears overalls and reaps the scorn of the community:

> Ordinarily Miranda preferred her overalls to any other dress, though it was making rather a scandal in the countryside, for the year was 1903, and in the back country the law of female decorum had teeth in it. Her father had been criticized for letting his girls dress like boys and go careening around astride barebacked horses. Big sister Maria, the really independent and fearless one, in spite of her rather affected ways, rode at a dead run with only a rope knotted around her horse's nose.[19]

Older women in the community snarled at Miranda: "Ain't you ashamed of yoself, Missy? It's against the Scriptures to dress like that. Whut yo Pappy thinkin about?" (p. 365)

Porter created strong, independent women (such as Miranda and Ellen Weatherall of "The Jilting of Granny Weatherall") and treasured the things of the heart. A cutline beneath a photo of Porter in *The Critic* after she was hired in 1917 is ironic in noting that Porter's interests ran counter to established (male) society:

> She has come to Fort Worth to devote her young life to *The Critic.* Miss Porter likes things which many people consider frivolous and of no consequence--Society and the many small factors which go toward making life pleasant and interesting.[20]

What made life "pleasant and interesting" for Porter were human relationships and the wonder and intricacy of human growth and change, but as Givner notes, "Porter herself never acknowledged and probably never realized how much she gained at this time from her journalistic experience."[21]

What she gained was in part an awareness that no event is isolated or unimportant and that events are part of a web affecting many people profoundly. The simplest occurrence covered by a newspaper reporter or a short story writer may reverberate through time.

William L. Nance writes in *Katherine Anne Porter and the Art of Rejection* that Porter's characters lived lives of deep desperation and that their progression was, at best, linear. He writes: "For all [of her characters], life begins in bitterness and corruption, proceeds in pain and lovelessness through successively deeper disillusions, and ends in nothingness, the foreknowledge of which casts a gradually thickening pall of despair over all of it."[22]

However, in his bleak summary Nance fails to understand one of Porter's basic themes: the price of self-discovery and the ultimate cost of acquiring one's own truth. Surely in *Pale Horse, Pale Rider,* "The Grave" and other works, the quest is not without reward. It is when the characters fail to understand their own susceptibility to self-deception that Porter reminds the reader to turn his or her gaze inward.

In "The Grave," Porter's most-often critiqued short story, a young Miranda and her twelve-year-old brother Paul take their Winchester rifles into the woods to shoot small game. They explore a graveyard in which the coffins have been dug up and moved, and in the course of the day discover treasures: a gold ring and a tiny silver dove (laden with symbolism, as countless critics have noted).

The two shoot a pregnant rabbit, and when Paul cuts it open, the children discover unborn baby rabbits. The description of the dead rabbit marks Porter as a master of detail and precise observation, a gift that had served her well during her days as a reporter:

> Very carefully he slit the thin flesh from the center ribs to the flanks, and a scarlet bag appeared. He slit again and pulled the bag open, and there lay a bundle of tiny rabbits, each wrapped in a thin scarlet veil. The brother pulled these off and there they were, dark gray, their sleek wet down lying in minute even ripples, like a baby's head just washed, their unbelievably small delicate ears folded close, their little blind faces almost featureless. (p. 366)

For this study, what is important about the central event in "The Grave" is that Porter never explains it; she recreates the moment and--in Ernest Hemingway fashion--allows the reader to bring it to life. The reader may then deal with the rich possibilities that range from horror at the grotesque sight of dead baby rabbits to wonder at the fragility of life and appreciation for the initiation experience of the two children.

The story ends with Miranda walking down a city street twenty years later:

> One day she was picking her path among the puddles and crushed refuse of a market street in a strange city of a strange country, when without warning, plain and clear in its true colors as if she looked through a frame upon a scene that had not stirred or changed since the moment it happened, the episode of that far-off day leaped from its burial place before her mind's eye. (p. 367)

A vendor carrying dyed sugar sweets had walked past, reminding her of the tiny unborn rabbits, and that memory reminded her of her brother:

> It was a very hot day and the smell in the market, with its piles of raw flesh and wilting flowers, was like the mingled sweetness and corruption she had smelled that other day in the empty cemetery at home: the day she had remembered always until now vaguely as the time she and her brother had found treasure in the opened graves. Instantly upon this thought the dreadful vision faded, and she saw clearly her brother, whose childhood face she had forgotten, standing again in the blazing sunshine, again twelve years old, a pleased sober smile in his eyes, turning the silver dove over and over in his hands. (pp. 367-68)

The reader may then construct his or her own understanding of the "sweetness and corruption" of the described experience, which reads like a powerful news account. A slogan which editors utter often in newsrooms is, "Show, don't tell." "The Grave" is one of the finest expressions in American literature of a writer adept at doing just that.

In "The Grave," Porter describes a day of hunting by a young girl and her older, more worldly brother ("You don't care whether you get your bird or not," he said. "That's no way to hunt"--p. 364). Miranda, whose name is from the Spanish "mirar," which means "to watch," longs to see, to understand. "Oh, I want to *see,*" she cries (p. 366).

Porter writes, "Yet she wanted most deeply to see and to know. Having seen, she felt at once as if she had known all along. The very memory of her former ignorance faded, she had always known just this" (p. 366). In spite of the reader's identification with Miranda, the events of the story are left intact and are relayed with careful attention to time and description.

Cutting open the dead rabbit--a graphic and intense moment--takes on a significance of its own; Porter practices well her journalistic duty to accuracy, detail and stark observation. The meaning, themes and implication are the reader's to discern. Often, Porter explores techniques of fiction-writing, including stream-of-consciousness point of view, but she is never more persuasive than when she relates a narrative from the detached perspective of an observer or reporter.

In "The Grave," the memory of the day in the graveyard with Paul evokes specific thoughts (longing for childhood, desire to see her brother, a sense of isolation in a strange city, etc.), but the meaning is created by the reader as he or she interacts with the rich sign system in the graveyard, with its silver doves, gold rings, hollowed-out graves, and unborn babies.

The former newspaperwoman remained devoted to truth throughout her career in fiction, although even when writing the simplest of news stories, she never mistook accuracy and factual relation of event for "truth" in its purest form. Having called Miranda her "witness, observer, or sharer," Porter herself attests to the fact that it is Miranda who best captures her own quiet quest:

> All stories of any sort with Miranda in it are based on some experience of my own and Miranda is not intended to be a self-portrait--she is my representative, the witness, observer, or sharer, sometimes all three in the stories where she figures.[23]

In *Old Mortality,* Porter clarifies the connection between herself and her fictional creation when she writes:

> What is the truth, she asked herself as intently as if the question had never been asked, the truth, even about the smallest, the least important of all the things I must find out? and where shall I begin to look for it? Her mind closed stubbornly against remembering, not the past but the legend of the past, other people's memory of the past, at which she had spent her life peering in wonder like a child at a magic-lantern show. (p. 221)

Media critic Roger Rosenblatt understands the separate function of the reporter and the writer of fiction, as does Porter. In his essay "Journalism and the Larger Truth," he writes:

> If one asks, then, where the larger truth is to be sought, the answer is where it has always been: in history, poetry, art, nature, education, conversation; in the tunnels of one's own mind. People may have come to expect too much of journalism. . . The trouble is that people have also come to expect too much of journalism at its best, because they have invested too much power in it, and in so doing have neglected or forfeited other sources of power in their lives. Journalists appear to give answers, but essentially they ask a question: What shall we make of this? A culture that would rely on the news for truth could not answer that question because it already would have lost the qualities of mind that make the news worth knowing.[24]

Rosenblatt does not suggest the supremacy of fiction over journalism. He argues instead that the two cannot be compared, for they provide two different kinds of truth for the reader.

Porter's work, which is often based on actual events as "The Truth About What Happens" illustrates, interprets and persuades. Even in their dedication to chronology and fact, her narratives appeal to the part of the reader that longs to order, to understand, and--as Miranda would say--to see.

Miranda's thoughts recorded at the end of *Old Mortality* are dramatic monologue, of course, for Porter knows well that Miranda--like her ancestors--inevitably will deceive herself and that she will retell history as she needs to remember it. Nonetheless, the author of news stories and Pulitzer-Prize winning fiction never seems to have despaired of one day being in possession of "the truth about what happens."

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THE JOINT OPERATING AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE--A UNIQUE SITUATION

MAY 1, 1993

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ABSTRACT

Under the Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970, competing newspapers can enter into Joint Operating Agreements (JOA's) allowing them to consolidate business operations, yet maintain separate editorial status. The JOA in Knoxville, Tennessee, is unique. It began in 1957, 13 years before the Newspaper Preservation Act was passed. The JOA was renegotiated in 1986 by Gannett and Scripps-Howard, the newspaper owners at that time. The renegotiated JOA resulted in a switch in publishing times plus a change in the division of profits from the JOA. Concurrently, the two owners renegotiated their JOA in El Paso, Texas. That agreement gave Gannett a building and increased its share of revenue. In 1992, the weaker Knoxville newspaper ceased publication, thus ending over 100 years of competition.

THE JOINT OPERATING AGREEMENT BETWEEN NEWSPAPERS IN KNOXVILLE---A UNIQUE SITUATION

The Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970 allows competing daily newspapers in the same town to form business monopolies and yet maintain independent editorial status (Fisher). The purpose of the act is to help weak newspapers survive by allowing them to fix market prices and divide market shares, yet retain separate editorial and reporting voices (Garneau). The term Joint Operating Agreement (hereafter called JOA) means any contract, joint venture, or agreement entered into by two or more newspapers that allows joint printing, publication, distribution, advertising, and circulation between the two papers, provided there is no merger of the editorial or reportorial staffs (U.S. Code).

JOA's have been around since the 1930's. However, it was not until the Newspaper Preservation Act was passed in 1970 that the agreements became legal (Garneau). The law came about after the Supreme Court, in 1969, decided that two Tucson, Arizona, dailies violated antitrust law by merging non-editorial operations. All previous JOA's were grandfathered. To qualify for a post-1970 JOA, one of the newspapers must prove it is likely to fail ("Joys of Advertising"). The law, administered by the Justice Department, permits the government to suspend anti-trust laws and allows competing newspapers to form one publishing company that publishes two editorially independent papers (Garneau).

The two daily newspapers in Knoxville, Tennessee, the *Journal* and the *News-Sentinel*, signed a JOA agreement in 1957. The *News-Sentinel* was to print, distribute, sell, and produce advertising for the *Journal* and provide office space for both. The agreement stipulated that the *Journal*, the morning paper, would be published Monday through Saturday. The *News-Sentinel*, Knoxville's afternoon paper, would be published Monday through Saturday afternoons and on Sunday mornings. Under the terms of the JOA, the *Journal* agreed to give up its Sunday paper. The JOA gave the *News-Sentinel* 77.5 percent of the profits and the *Journal* 22.5 percent (Bond).

The *News-Sentinel* traces its lineage to the post-Civil War period. The *Knoxville Sentinel* was founded in 1886 by John Tevis Hearn, a Kentucky native. The newspaper continued until 1926 when it merged with the *Knoxville News* and became the *News-Sentinel.* The *Knoxville News* was owned by Scripps-Howard and was founded by Edward J. Meeman, a distinguished editor and community leader. When the *Knoxville Sentinel* and the *Knoxville News* merged, Scripps-Howard became the owner and made Meeman the editor. The *News-Sentinel's* second editor was Benton J. Strong, who held the position until 1934. Marshall McNeil became the third editor and was replaced by George Carmack in 1937. Loye W. Miller, who came with Meeman to establish the *Knoxville News*, replaced Carmack in 1940 and continued as editor until 1966. He was succeeded by Ralph Millett, who retired in 1987 (Deaderick). Harry Moskos, a Scripps-Howard editor in El Paso, Texas, was named the *News-Sentinel's* editor in 1987 and currently holds the post (Hively).

The *Journal* remained a locally owned newspaper until the 1980's. The paper traces its lineage to William "Parson" Brownlow, a prominent figure of the Civil War era and a Tennessee Reconstruction governor. Brownlow founded the *Tennessee Whig* in Elizabethton, Tennessee in 1839, and in 1849 he moved it to Knoxville. After Brownlow's death in April of 1877, the newspaper fell into the hand of his protégé, Capt. William Rule.

Through the absorption and combination of a number of papers, the newspaper first appeared under the *Journal* name on February 1885, but a year later it became the *Journal* and *Chronicle* when Rule and Samual Marfield of Circleville, Ohio, purchased the assets of the failed *Chronicle* and merged the two publications. Rule bought Marfield's interests in 1889 and the newspaper became the *Journal* until 1898, when the *Journal* linked with the *Tribune*. Hard times were ahead for the *Journal and Tribune,* as it was known until 1925 when it again became the *Journal* (Glenn). Rule continued to work until the age of 89 and was hailed by the press when he died in 1929 as "the world's oldest active editor" (Deaderick). That same year the newspaper went bankrupt and passed into receivership until it was purchased in 1936 by Roy N. Lotspeich. Lotspeich ran the newspaper until he died in 1952. His wife, Ethel Moore Lotspeich, took over the newspaper and became one of the few female publishers of the day. After Roy Lotspeich's death in 1951, a disagreement between family members resulted in a legal battle that was eventually won by Mrs. Lotspeich. However, the legal costs had drained the coffers of the *Journal* to the point that Mrs. Lotspeich sought a JOA with Scripps-Howard, and it was under her direction in 1957 that the *Journal* and *News-Sentinel* formed the JOA. Mrs. Lotspeich ran the Journal until her death in December 1962 (Smith). Her son-in-law, Charles H. Smith Jr., became editor. When he died in 1972, he was succeeded by his son, Charles H. Smith III, as editor and publisher (Worth).

When Charles Smith III took over the *Journal*, it continued to lose circulation. In 1980, Charles Smith III was killed in an airplane crash and again a battle erupted over control of the *Journal* (McMahan). In 1981, the heirs of Charles Smith III agreed to sell the newspaper to the Gannett

Company for $26.3 million (Worth). The sale of the *Journal* to Gannett included the regulations of the JOA that were negotiated in 1957. Gannett named Ron McMahan, former press secretary to then-Senator Howard Baker, as editor and furnished the financial resources to upgrade the newspaper. From 1981-1986 under Gannett's leadership, the circulation of the *Journal* increased from 52,000 to 67,000 and that of the *News-Sentinel* dropped from 100,000 to 92,000. Revenues at the *Journal* rose from $1.8 million to $6.2 million over the five-year period (McMahan).

During the pre-Gannett years, the editorial and business management of the *Journal* was not strong, and the paper suffered losses of both circulation and advertising. The *Journal* served a smaller and more rural audience than the *News-Sentinel.* In contrast, the *News-Sentinel* had a larger circulation and its subscribers were residents of Knoxville, upper East Tennessee, and surrounding states (McMahan). This ran against the then-emerging trend of weakness among afternoon newspapers. The years 1981 and 1982 alone saw the death of five established afternoon newspapers: the *Cleveland Press*, the *Des Moines Tribune*, the *Minneapolis Star*, the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, and the *Washington Star*. One newcomer to the afternoon, *New York News' Tonight*, also succumbed. (*Death in the Afternoon*).

During the late 1970's and early 1980's the city of Knoxville underwent many changes. In 1982, it hosted the International Energy Exposition. From the World's Fair Knoxville gained a major convention and exhibition site, interstate highways through the city were improved, airline service was enhanced, outstanding restaurants opened, and four first-class hotels were built. Flamboyant banker Jake Butcher, whose banking empire later crumbled, served as chairman for the World's Fair. His First United

American Bank added a skyscraper to Knoxville's skyline just prior to 1982, and the energy-related fair called worldwide attention to the Tennessee Technology Corridor as a suitable location for sophisticated industries. In addition, construction for the University of Tennessee's 25,000- seat basketball arena began (Creekmore).

In 1986, Scripps-Howard and Gannett renegotiated both the JOA's in the Knoxville and El Paso, Texas, markets. Under terms of the new JOA's, the following events occurred (McMahan):

1. The *Journal* and *News-Sentinel* would exchange publication cycles effective June 30, 1986. The *Journal* would become the afternoon paper, and the *News-Sentinel* would become the morning paper.
2. The *Journal's* share of profits in the Knoxville JOA would increase from 22.5 percent to 25 percent, and the *News-Sentinel's* share would fall from 77.5 percent to 75 percent.
3. Gannett's share of the JOA in El Paso, Texas, went from a 50-50 percent share to an 80-20 percent share with Scripps-Howard.
4. Scripps-Howard gave Gannett the building in El Paso where the newspaper is published.

Effective July 1, 1986, the *News-Sentinel* became the morning newspaper in Knoxville, and the *Journal* moved to the evening slot. The new pact called for the Knoxville JOA to run for 20 years, until December 31, 2005; and, the agreement was to be automatically renewed for 10 years unless one of the two parties gave notice two years before the renewal date. The new El Paso JOA did not include a change in the publishing cycles of the newspapers; however, Scripps-Howard agreed to transfer to Gannett a 50 percent interest in the Newspaper Printing Corporation that acted as business and production agent for both El Paso papers. The El Paso JOA was to continue until December 31, 2015; and, Gannett's share of profits increased from 50 percent to 80 percent, while Scripps-Howard's revenue share dropped from 50 percent to 20 percent. The building in which the newspaper was published was transferred from Scripps-Howard to Gannett (Radolf).

Within a month after the JOA was renewed with Scripps-Howard, Gannett got out of the Knoxville market. Gannett was involved in several JOA's and owned 67 newspapers at the time; however, Knoxville was the only market in which Gannett owned the non-dominant paper. Gannett decided to sell the *Journal* and gave the local CEO the option to buy if he could raise the money (McMahan).

Ron McMahan, *Journal* CEO and editor, found a financial partner in Bill McKinney. McKinney had been the publisher of the newspaper in Marietta, Ohio, which he had sold to Gannett. On August 1, 1986, the two bought the *Journal* for $25 million and entered into the JOA with the *News-Sentinel* that had 19 years to go (Moxley). McMahan and McKinney were equal partners; however, only six months into their partnership, the deal turned sour. McMahan and McKinney were constantly at odds with each other (McMahan).

On August 2, 1988, McMahan and McKinney sold the *Journal* to the Persis Corporation, a small family-owned media company based in Hawaii (Moxley). Persis paid $38 million for the *Journal* and named Gerald Garcia the editor. The terms of the contract stated that McMahan could not stay as editor, but could remain for six months as a consultant. McKinney chose not to remain and left town. Garcia came to Knoxville from Bryan, Texas, where he had been editor and publisher of the Persis-owned *Bryan-College Station Eagle* (Lail).

Persis endured difficult times after its purchase of the *Journal.* The economy slowed, and the *Journal's* circulation and advertising dropped. Since Persis did not profit from ownership of the *Journal*, the company explored other avenues. In December 1989, Persis bought the Maryville-Alcoa *Daily Times*, an independent newspaper located 15 miles from Knoxville, and named Gerald Garcia editor and publisher there as well (McMahan). At the time of the takeover, the circulation of the *Daily Times* was 21,000. The purchase gave Persis a modern newspaper printing plant 15 miles from Knoxville, where its *Journal* was being printed by the *News-Sentinel* Company under the JOA (Garneau). To counteract the competition in Blount County by Persis, the *News-Sentinel* opened a Blount County Bureau in February 1991. It still prints a daily Blount County section that is distributed with the *News-Sentinel* in that area (Hively).

On January 10, 1990, the *News-Sentinel* filed a lawsuit against Persis alleging the JOA was violated because of the recent purchase of the *Daily Times.* The lawsuit asked the Chancery Court to either dissolve the JOA between the *News-Sentinel* and the *Journal,* or to order the Persis Corporation to relinquish control of the *Daily Times.* Further, the lawsuit asked the court to immediately enjoin the *Journal* and the Persis Corporation from managing and operating the *Daily Times.* The lawsuit said the purchase of the *Daily Times* by the Persis Corporation violated a clause of the JOA that stated the two Knoxville newspapers agreed to cooperate with each other in every proper way that would permit a successful operation under the agreement. The *Daily Times* competes with the Knoxville papers for advertising and circulation revenue in adjoining Blount County.

The lawsuit contended Persis had access to the *News-Sentinel's* confidential business information and trade secrets. The suit also alleged

Persis had access to strategic plans for the two papers through 1992. The *News-Sentinel* claimed that Garcia and Persis could use the confidential business information and trade secrets to unfair competitive advantage over the Sentinel (Balloch).

On June 9, 1991, the *Journal* and the *News-Sentinel* announced they had agreed to terminate litigation, and they had agreed to end the JOA by December 1991. Both newspapers planned to publish separately and competitively after the JOA ended. The papers would compete economically for advertising and circulation, as well as editorially. Persis planned to print the *Journal* in the newly acquired Maryville plant. Under the severance agreement, the *News-Sentinel* agreed to pay the Persis Corporation $40 million in two $20 million installments in place of the payments the *Journal* would have received under the JOA through December 31, 2005 (Bond) .

Both the Scripps-Howard and the Persis Corporations described the termination of the JOA as an amicable parting and stated they believed the agreement was in the best interest of the newspapers and the community. Lawrence A. Leser, president and CEO of the Scripps-Howard Company, said, "This one-time payment is less than the expected amount The *News-Sentinel* would have paid in distributions to the *Journal* had joint operations continued through 2005. We look forward to hardy economic competition in addition to the fierce editorial competition that has existed between the two newspapers for many years" (*News-Sentinel*, 9 June 1990).

Thurston Twigg-Smith, president and CEO of Persis Corporation, said, "We are pleased with the agreement. Once we concluded that it was unlikely that the JOA would be extended beyond 2005, we wanted to begin separate publication at a time when the *Journal* was a strong and vital part of the community. We look forward to the challenges ahead of us as we continue to serve our readers and advertisers" (*News-Sentinel*, 9 June 1990).

The *Journal's* owners continued to assert their plans to compete until December 2, 1991, until Gerald Garcia, publisher of the *Journal,* announced the *Journal* would cease daily publication effective January 1, 1992, terminate all 69 employees, and instead publish a weekly edition. Thus, the *Journal* scrapped plans to move its printing to Maryville when the *Journal* ended; and, Knoxville joined the ranks of cities with only one daily newspaper. At the time of the JOA termination, circulation of the *Journal* was 40,780. Daily circulation for the *News-Sentinel* was 106,708, and Sunday circulation was 181,347. The JOA in Knoxville had been terminated after 34 years. Replacing the *Journal* would be a new publication called *Weekend Journal* to be printed in Maryville. Garcia said the decision to convert the *Journal* to a weekly came after a careful review of the viability of continuing the *Journal* as a daily after the JOA termination (*Journal,* 31 December 1991).

Garcia said, "The *Weekend Journal* will be a unique source of local news, entertainment, and exclusive and complete coverage of the University of Tennessee sports program with a section devoted entirely to the Volunteers. Included with the newspaper will be *USA Weekend Magazine* and a color comics section" (*Journal,* 31 December 1991).

The *Weekend Journal* was published only from January until August of 1992.

The JOA between the *Journal* and the *News-Sentinel* is unique in three ways. First, the JOA is unusual because there was a link between the JOA in Knoxville and the JOA in El Paso, Texas. Gannett and Scripps-Howard owned newspapers in both those cities and renegotiated both JOA's at the same time (McMahan). The second reason the JOA is one of a kind is that it was the first time newspapers switched publication cycles as part of a JOA (News-Sentinel, 30 June 1986). "Apparently Scripps-Howard insisted on converting the News-Sentinel to a morning publication, leaving Gannett with the choice of building a new plant or switching the Journal to the afternoon" (Miller, Chen and Everett). Gannett agreed to make the switch in return for an increased share of revenue and concessions under the JOA in El Paso, Texas (Miller, Chen, and Everett). The third unique trait of the Knoxville JOA is the way the final split between the newspapers came about. Owners of the *Journal* bought a newspaper plant in an adjoining county and began publishing a nearby daily in a way that its partners thought violated the JOA. It also meant that the weaker paper's owners had a daily newspaper printing plant in place and could have continued publication without the JOA if they wished. This caused the *News-Sentinel* to file a lawsuit against the *Journal,* which eventually led to the *News-Sentinel's* buyout of the JOA for $40 million.

When the *Journal* folded, Robert Hively, publisher of the *News-Sentinel*, said, "Two independently owned newspapers competing in the same market provide a better product. I regret that Persis did not choose to continue the *Journal* and invest the $40 million in the newspaper" (Hively).

Since 1986 to early 1992, 115 daily newspapers passed into history, leaving only 39 cities with competing daily newspapers. The JOA, which was passed to preserve competition within a market, seems to offer little incentive to newspapers today. In early 1993, 19 JOA'S were in place, but industry observers expect more JOA's and newspapers to disappear in the next decade (Fisher).

"I do not think JOA's are a thing of the future. Most JOA's will probably not be renewed when their time is up," said Bob Hively, publisher of the *News-Sentinel* (Hively).

Robert Picard, editor of the *Journal of Media Economics*, said in September of 1992, "I think we'll see a lot of buyouts, shutdowns, and re-negotiations of JOA's in the next few years" (Fisher).

"What JOA's do is delay the inevitable," said John Morton, newspaper analyst with Lynch, Jones & Ryan. "At some point, one newspaper becomes so weak it becomes a drag on the other. Then, they reach some type of agreement to end the thing" (Fisher).

Picard said, "If the dominant newspaper knows it can hang on for a few years, and the other one will die, why should it split its profits for 20 to 30 years in a JOA when it can have full profits if it just hangs on for a few more years?"(Fisher)

Tim Pilgrim, author of "Newspapers as Natural Monopolies," said daily newspapers destroy their competition because the strongest paper dominates the newspaper market until the weaker daily is killed off (Pilgrim).

The JOA in Knoxville didn't work. Although it lasted for 34 years, it failed to save the *Journal*. Conditions were right in many ways for a JOA to save the weaker newspaper, and opportunities existed for success of the JOA. Gannett, the largest newspaper chain, had a chance to make it work. Then Persis had its turn and failed. If the second daily newspaper cannot survive in Knoxville, where can it?

As Christy Fisher wrote in Editor and Publisher few months ago, "R. I. P., JOA." (Fisher).

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